A LATE ANTIQUE SHRINE
OF
LIBER PATER AT COSA

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
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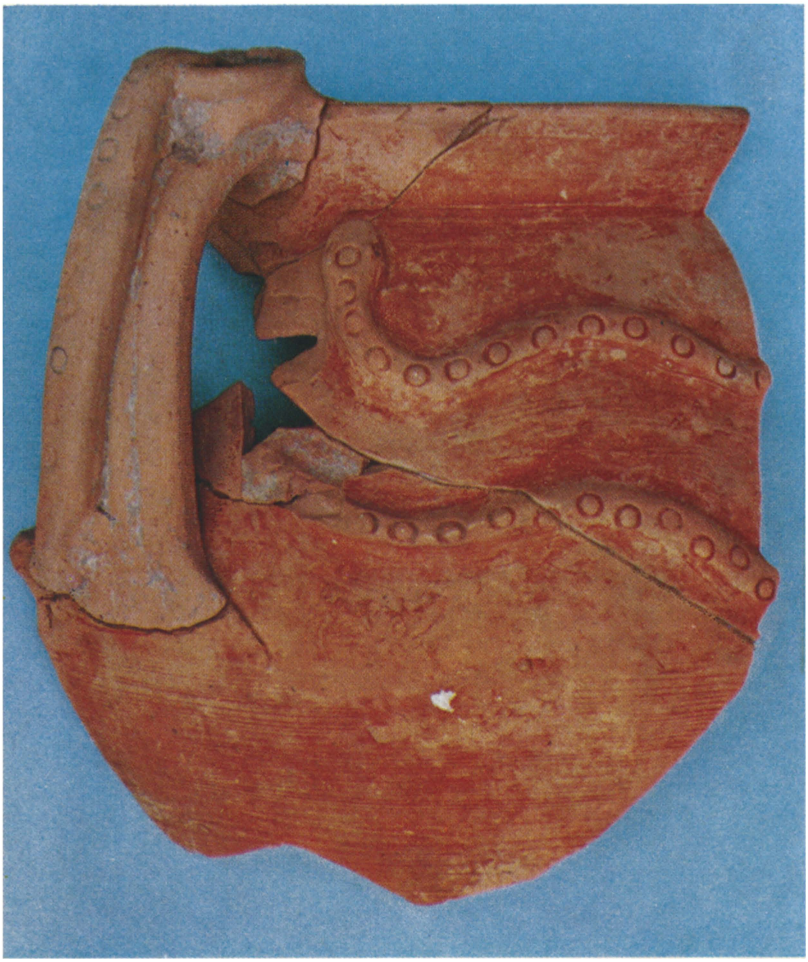

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JACQUELYN COLLINS-CLINTON

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 9 TEXT FIGURES
AND 27 PLATES

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In Memory of my Father

JAMES WAGNER COLLINS

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
List of Abbreviations x

PART I

EXCAVATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SHRINE AND ITS CONTENTS

Introduction 3
Excavation of the Structure 7
Architectural Features of the Building 9
Finds 13
Dating 15
Use and Significance of the Structure 16
Interpretation of the Finds 23
A Syncretistic Cult of Dionysus at Cosa? 38

PART II

CATALOGUE OF THE FINDS

Marble Sculpture 49
Inscription 56
Architectural Members 57
Lamps 59
  African Lamps 60
  Copies of African Lamps 64
  Broneer Type XXVIII 67
  Miscellaneous Late Lamps 69
  Earlier Lamps. 70

Pottery 71
  Cups 72
  Jugs 73
  Beakers 77
  Cooking Ware 78
  Ritual Vessels 79

Coins 86

Small Finds 89

Index 92

List of Illustrations 97

Plates I-XXVII

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The shrine of Liber Pater in the forum at Cosa was excavated in 1968 while I was a Fellow at the American Academy in Rome. A preliminary version of this study was presented at the Seventieth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America at Toronto, December 29, 1968; see the abstract in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 (1969) 234.

I wish to thank, first, Professor Frank E. Brown, Director of the Cosa Excavations at the time of my participation in the 1968 campaign. I am indebted to him for the opportunity to publish this material, for reading the manuscript, offering many suggestions and corrections, and for taking the time to deal with the many problems that arose during the preparation of the manuscript for publication. I am particularly grateful for the new plan of the forum which he prepared especially for this monograph and for the redrawing of the actual state plan of the shrine. I have also benefited from conversations with Cosa excavators and Fellows of the American Academy in Rome during visits in the summers of 1970, 1972, and in February-March 1975. In particular I thank Professor Sheila Dickison for her help in the initial stages of this study, Professor Lawrence Richardson, Jr., for much valuable information, and Professor Theodore Buttrey for making available a portion of the manuscript of his forthcoming publication of the coins from Cosa. To Professors Anne Laidlaw and Kevin Clinton are owed special thanks for their criticisms of the manuscript in its final stages. Finally I thank my editor, Professor M. J. Vermaseren, for his helpful suggestions in the field of Roman religion.

The American Philosophical Society enabled me to complete the drawing of the pottery profiles and the photographing of the finds through a grant from their Penrose Fund in the summer of 1972. I also thank Lana Morse and Dottie Owens of Ithaca College for their careful typing of the manuscript.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

See also those recommended in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 74 (1970) 3-8 and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2nd edition (Oxford 1970) ix-xxii.

BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
Bruhl, *Liber Pater*	Adrian Bruhl, *Liber Pater,* BEFAR, fasc. 175 (Paris 1953).
Cumont, *Religions orientales*^{4}	Franz Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romaine,* 4th edition (Paris 1929).
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain.
Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*	Friedrich Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage,* parts 1-4, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. 4 (Berlin 1968-1975).
Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*	M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age,* Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, vol. 5 (Lund 1957).
——, *GGR* 1^2, 2^2	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion,* 2 vols., 2nd edition, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 5, part 2 (Munich 1955-1961).
Roscher, *Lexikon*	W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* 6 vols. (Leipzig 1894-1937).
Vermaseren, *CIMRM*	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae,* 2 vols. (The Hague 1956-1960).

PART I

EXCAVATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SHRINE AND ITS CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological evidence for the places where members of Bacchic associations met to worship or celebrate is rare in the Graeco-Roman world. Rarer still are remains of Bacchic buildings whose debris contains the paraphernalia of the cult virtually intact at the time of excavation. Such evidence has recently come to light at the Roman town of Cosa in modern Tuscany. Here a small building at one end of the forum was transformed into a Bacchic shrine probably in the fourth century A.D. and flourished for perhaps a century. This shrine is of great interest for many reasons. First, it was apparently abandoned or destroyed so suddenly that all of its cult furniture and statuary embellishment was found *in situ* when it was excavated. Second, its very late date indicates that a Bacchic cult community was thriving in an out-of-the-way place apparently for decades after the edicts of Theodosius in 391 and 392 A.D. outlawing paganism. And third, it helps to illuminate our knowledge about the later history of Cosa, a town which flowered most brilliantly in the Republican period.

Before passing to the shrine itself, the essential archaeological and historical features of the town should be reviewed.[1] The ruins of Cosa nestle among the trees of an olive grove set atop a hill on the promontory of Ansedonia on the Tuscan coast about 138 kilometers northwest of Rome. The first inhabitants of the town arrived in the year 273 B.C., when the Latin colony of Cosa was established as a military outpost to control the territory of the recently defeated Etruscan towns of Vulci and Volsinii. Strategically located on the coast, Cosa boasted an excellently protected harbor which must have rendered the site additionally attractive to Rome's increasing naval interests at the time. The port and other architectural features of the town were laid out in the third century B.C.: massive fortification walls with gates and towers, regular town plan of streets intersecting at right angles, forum, cult center on the arx. Many of the private dwellings are this early. The second century B.C. marks the most flourishing period in Cosa's history. The port, which must have played an important role in the economy of the town, received its final form, as did also the forum. The forum had a monumental triple-arched entryway, an atrium publicum, a basilica, curia, comitium, temple, and shops. It provides an early example of the standard Roman forum design that evolved in the Republican period. Two temples, one a Capitolium, were constructed on the arx.

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[1] Excavations at Cosa have been conducted in two major campaigns, 1948-1954 and 1965-1972, under the auspices of the American Academy in Rome. The basic topographical and historical treatment is by Frank E. Brown, "Cosa I, History and Topography," *MAAR* 20 (1951) 5-113. The excavations of 1948-1950 on the arx have been published by F. E. Brown, Emeline Hill Richardson, and L. Richardson, Jr., *Cosa II, The Temples of the Arx,* MAAR, vol. 26 (Rome 1960). Preliminary reports of excavations in the forum during 1951-1954 have been published by Lawrence Richardson, Jr., *FA* 6 (1951) no. 2491, 7 (1952) no. 1988, 8 (1953) no. 2173, and 9 (1954) no. 2838. For further bibliography to 1959 see F. Brown, "Cosa," *EAA* 2 (1959) 869-870. See also F. E. Brown, "Scavi a Cosa-Ansedonia, 1965-1966," *BdA* 52 (1967) 37-41; *idem,* "Excavations at Cosa, 1965-1968," *AJA* 73 (1969) 232; Anna M. McCann, "Excavations of the Ancient Port at Cosa, 1968," *AJA* 73 (1969) 241-242; Russell T. Scott, "The Arx of Cosa, 1965-1968" *AJA* 73 (1969) 245; Vincent J. Bruno, "A Town House at Cosa," *Archaeology* 23 (1970) 232-241; John D. Lewis, "Excavations of the Ancient Port at Cosa, 1969," *AJA* 74 (1970) 199; A. M. McCann and Colonel J. D. Lewis, "The Ancient Port of Cosa," *Archaeology* 23 (1970) 200-211; R. T.

The first century B.C. was the beginning of Cosa's decline as it ceased to be militarily important. The period before 67 B.C., especially, was a time of extensive destruction throughout the town, indicative of the degree to which Cosa suffered from the unsettled times of the Social and Civil wars. After this the town never fully recovered, despite the attempts at revitalization in the first century A.D. Repairs made to the forum and the Capitolium suggest new, yet limited civic and religious activity in the town. Entrances to the forum were walled up or fitted with gates. The forecourt of the Capitolium was also walled up and a gate was set into the entrance so the precinct could be locked. The enclosing of the forum and Capitolium suggests that the civic and religious centers were only occasionally visited. Although some of the private houses

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Scott, "Excavations at Cosa 1969-1970: The Houses," *AJA* 75 (1971) 213; A. M. McCann, "Excavations at the Roman Port of Cosa, 1972", *AJA* 77 (1973) 220.

were refurbished and enlarged, the picture of Cosa in the early Empire is one of a poor town of limited population. After the first century A.D. very little building activity occurred. What did occur is limited to a few repairs around the forum and to the Capitolium. Brick stamps, inscriptions, and coins combine to tell the same story of virtual abandonment of the town during the later Empire.

Recent excavations, aimed at clarifying details of the forum, have brought to light much more evidence for the resettlement of this part of the town in late antiquity.[2] Archaeological and numismatic evidence shows that many of the public and private buildings from one end of the forum to the other were reoccupied in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. A portion of the basilica was transformed into a Christian church; rooms of unknown function, perhaps houses, were built into the south corner of the basilica; a wall was constructed through part of the comitium and the area turned into a threshing floor; and at the west corner near the main entrance to the forum a block of houses was refurbished, perhaps as a cowbarn (see plan, Fig. 1). Thus, it was not very surprising during the 1968 season to discover that a second entryway on the southeast end of the forum had been converted into a shrine dedicated to Liber Pater.

This shrine—or more likely clubhouse—was apparently abandoned rather abruptly, perhaps even deliberately destroyed by zealous Christians, as is indicated by certain finds, which were broken or smashed to bits. The statuary, small coins, and the general paraphernalia of the cult were left *in situ* until they were covered eventually by debris from the collapsing walls and roof.

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[2] No such indications could have been mentioned in the topographical survey, Brown, "Cosa I" (supra n. 1). Preliminary reports of excavations in the forum during 1951-1954 by Lawrence Richardson, Jr. in *FA* for 1951-54 record only the conversion of the comitium area into a threshing floor in the sixth century A.D. (*FA* 9 [1954] 210). The fifth or sixth century reuse of the comitium area is further discussed by Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "Cosa and Rome: Comitium and Curia," *Archaeology* 10 (1957) 55. An up-to-date report of recent findings indicative of a renewal of living in the old forum was given by F. E. Brown in a paper, "Excavations at Cosa, 1965-1968," delivered at the Seventieth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Toronto, December 29, 1968.

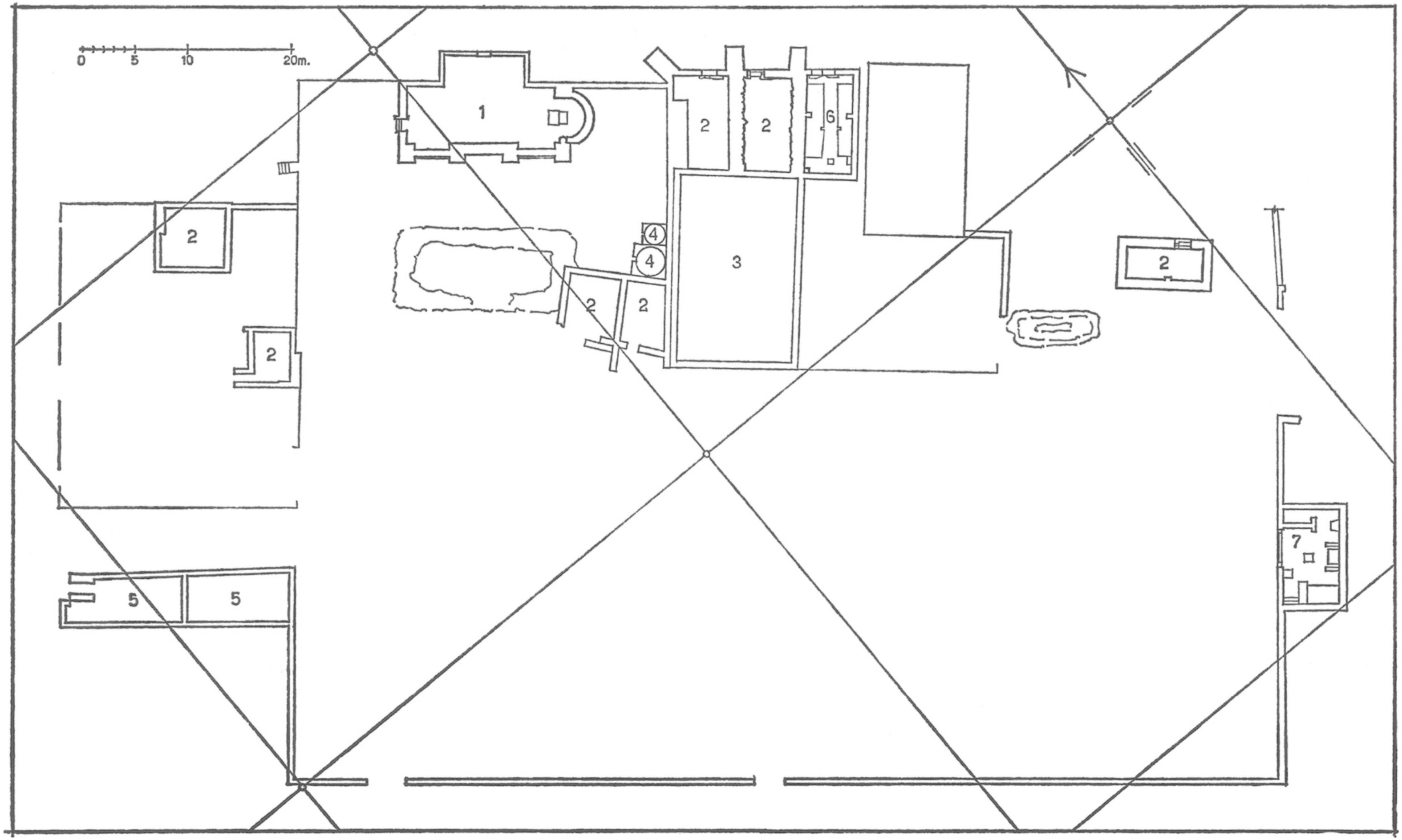
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Fig. 1. Plan of Forum Area, Fourth Century A.D.
Key to numbers: (1) Church, (2) Houses, (3) Threshing floor, (4) Ovens, (5) Barns (?), (6) Mithraeum, (7) Shrine of Liber Pater

The objects preserved where they had fallen to the floor are: the cult statue representing the youthful Bacchus (Fig. 22); a herm and other marble statues used decoratively (Figs. 23-26); an inscription mentioning the name of Liber Pater (Fig. 30); cups, jugs, wine *kraters*, and many lamps (Figs. 34-54). It seems very likely, therefore, that nocturnal ceremonies and banquets were held there. Fourth and fifth century coins supply the date when the shrine flourished. As stated above, such well-preserved evidence of a Bacchic meeting place is rare in the Greco-Roman world, although literary and epigraphical references are frequent enough. In the following report I will describe the actual remains of the structure and its contents and will attempt to interpret their significance in the context of the Bacchic cult in the Roman period and particularly in late antiquity.

EXCAVATION OF THE STRUCTURE

In 1967, excavations were resumed in the forum to determine with greater precision the nature of the buildings along the unexcavated southeast and southwest sides, including the portico surrounding the forum and the entryway constructed on axis with the one already excavated at the northwest end. The general outlines of the entryway at the southeast end were already apparent from the ruins of walls on the surface noted in the topographical survey of 1949.[3] Operations at the southeast end during the 1967 season cleared the entire portico, revealing particularly the façade of this entryway. Along the line of the façade was found the plinth of a column placed midway between two large limestone quoin blocks which define the ends of the side walls of the entryway. However, above the column plinth, two sill blocks were discovered, one of travertine and the other of limestone, both reused and leveled above the portico paving with a low course of flat stones or pieces of roof tile (Fig. 2 and Fig. 10). On the northeast side of these is a third limestone sill block, also reused. These blocks evidently formed a doorway closing the front of the entryway at a later date. In order to find the floor of the building behind the façade, a small test pit, 0.50 m. x 0.80 m., was opened alongside the northeast quoin block. Here was found a badly damaged *opus signinum* paving on which were scattered pieces of white wall plaster. A section through the floor revealed that the *rudus* rested on red virgin earth.

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[3] Brown, "Cosa I" (supra n. 2) 75 and pl. 3.

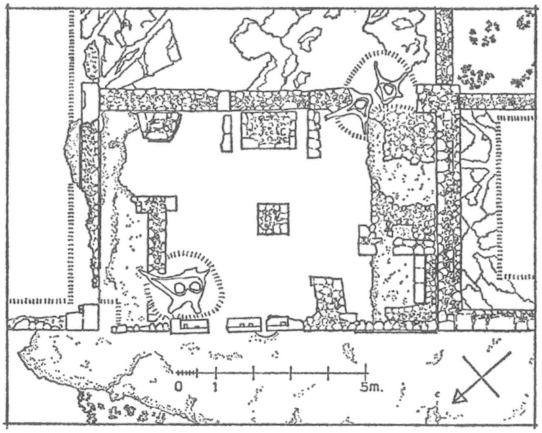

Fig. 2. Plan of Shrine, Actual State

The purpose of the campaign of 1968 was to explore the later use of this structure which had originally been built as an entryway to the forum. The excavation exposed the side walls of the entryway, both 6.60 m. long and not parallel. The interior space measures 9.0 m. at the façade to 8.90 m. at the back (see plan, Fig. 2). The inner surface of the back wall measures 5.95 m. on its northeast end to 5.85 m. on its southwest end from the exterior of the façade wall. The area enclosed by these walls was found to be packed, beneath the surface humus, with a layer of debris from fallen walls and roof: stones, large pottery sherds, and broken roof tiles intermixed in soil grey and sandy from decayed mortar. Beneath this layer of debris on the floor of the building were the finds, generally mixed with fallen roof tiles and a few stones, a fact which suggests that the roof collapsed into the building before the rubble walls did. As the level of pavement was reached, the character of the fill changed, becoming more brownish and granular.

The most probable explanation for this change is that the building had been left abandoned and open for a long period of time before collapsing.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE BUILDING

The walls belonging to the original entryway are the side and back walls. The left, or northeast wall, is preserved only in its lowest courses above floor level. Averaging 0.45 m. in thickness, it is constructed of squared limestone masonry mortared with mud, a form of wall construction found in the earliest buildings at Cosa and dating to the third century B.C.[4] This wall terminates at its southeast end with an immense quoin block not bonded to the back wall of the entryway. The northeast wall, then, belonged to an earlier structure.

The walls on the southeast (back) and southwest (right) sides are of different construction from that of the left wall (Fig. 11: back wall; Fig. 12: right wall). The random rubblework foundations, laid in a trench and measuring from 0.55-0.80 m. thick, are of unshaped stones set compactly in a very hard lime mortar. Above the foundations are a few scattered remnants of the walls, set back on the exterior by approximately 0.15 m. These walls consist of roughly shaped stones with a flat exterior face loosely mortared together. This is an example of another type of wall construction used all over the site: the combination of coursed and random rubblework which has been set back from the exterior face of the foundation.[5]

The façade wall, preserved in only one or two courses of masonry, exhibits two types of wall construction of which one is of better quality than the other. The better constructed portions of wall are found at the left and right ends and are not bonded into the side walls. The lower course, where visible, was set down into the portico paving. The left end extends 1.90 m. to the leftmost sill block (Fig. 14). On the right end, the remaining exterior plaster conceals the point where the better construction ends (Fig. 15); certainly it runs 1.70 m., possibly a little more to balance the part on the other end. The original thickness of these parts of the wall are also unknown owing to later constructions on the right, and to the action of olive roots on the left. The masonry, as preserved, presents a single thickness of small squared limestone or travertine blocks set in lime mortar.

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[4] Brown, "Excavations at Cosa, 1965-1968" (supra n. 1) p. 4 of typescript.

[5] Brown, "Cosa I" (supra n. 1) 60-63, 109-110. The back wall is interesting for it presents a break in the construction of foundation and socle (Fig. 13). Here two large quoin blocks are placed flanking an opening later filled with the same manner of construction. This opening, measuring 2.0 m. wide, is centered in the back wall. The filling of the foundation is not bonded to the quoin blocks. In the socle itself a quoin block appears only on the northeast side of the opening. The most logical explanation for this construction is that the door in the back wall of the entryway was walled in at a later date; on this see the forthcoming *Cosa III, The Buildings of the Forum.*

The façade of the structure was apparently not completely closed until its last building phase when the reused sill blocks were set into place above the plinth of the central column of the original entryway. Altogether there are three of these sill blocks, two of which rest on the column plinth (see above, p. 7). The complete threshold is 3.55 m. long. To the right of the threshold is a section of coarsely constructed wall which adjoins the better constructed part at that end (Fig. 16). The coarser wall is made of a jumble of generally unshaped stones chinked with broken tiles and large pottery sherds, all set in copious quantities of mortar. This part of the façade wall rests on top of the portico paving.

The outside of the façade was coated with a layer of red painted plaster which covers part of the coarser wall and most of the better constructed wall at the right end. At the time of excavation in 1967, this plaster was preserved to a maximum height of 0.30 m. above the portico paving (Fig. 15).

The interior of the entryway was paved with *opus signinum* whose *rudus* rests on virgin earth (supra p. 8; Fig. 17). This paving was laid at a higher level than the portico paving along the front of the building. The difference in levels is most clearly visible in the test pit at the left end of the façade where the portico paving is 0.225 to 0.235 m. below the surface of the interior paving (Fig. 14).

Inside the building, partition walls and bases roughly divide the room into three sections. On the left is a T-shaped wall, 0.50 m. thick and 3.65 m. long including the thickness of the façade wall. The actual join is obscured by an olive tree which could not be removed. This wall sets off a long, narrow room from the central area. Opposite the end of the wall is a low, semi-circular base (1.25 m. × 0.80 m.). Against the center of the back wall, there is a low, rectangular pedestal (1.45 m. × 1.05 m.), flanked by spur walls (left spur, 1.10 m. × 0.30 m.; right spur, 1.30 m. × 0.35 m.). Directly in front of this is a square construction, probably an altar (0.80 m. square as restored). Another rectangular base (1.0 m. × 0.75 m.) is attached to the wall immediately to the right of the door (Fig. 16). Most of the right side of the room is occupied by the foundations of a broad "bench" 1.75 m. wide and 3.40 m. long (Fig. 18). A partition wall (0.45 m. wide) separates this from a small room or alcove in the right front corner (Fig. 19).[6] Along the right side of the alcove there is a ledge (approximately 0.30 m. wide) formed by three large rectangular blocks placed against a counter wall (0.25 m. wide) built next to the right exterior wall of the building. Another counter wall (0.35 m. wide), not bonded into the first, is built against the façade wall.[7] None of the interior

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[6] The end of this wall may originally have been flush with the edge of the "bench." The squared blocks visible in Fig. 19 may not necessarily belong to the portion of the wall projecting into the room. Since these blocks rest on the earth floor and not on the *signinum* paving, it is possible that they fell out from this wall when the building collapsed. The conjectured length of this wall would then correspond to the width of the "bench," e.g., 1.75 m. long. However, it is equally possible that the blocks closest to the façade are still *in situ*; on this see n. 7.

[7] This counter wall is not preserved in its entire length. Originally it either extended all the way to the doorway pedestal for a length of 2.40 m.

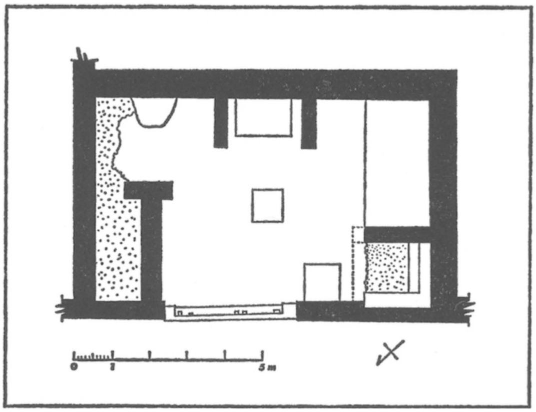

Fig. 3. Plan of Shrine, Restored

walls and pedestals are bonded into the exterior walls against which they are built, [8] with the exception of the pedestal to the right of the doorway. This pedestal forms a unit with the coarse jumbled masonry of the façade noted above, p. 10 (Fig. 16). The partition walls, pedestals, and the altar present on their exterior faces either blocks with one flat side or sometimes squared blocks of varying sizes. Any uneven surfaces are filled in with mortar. The blocks are liberally chinked with tile and large pottery sherds, all laid in quantities of mortar. In the altar, pieces of cut-down pan tiles are used as levelers (Fig. 20). The foundation of the "bench" on the right side of the room consists of a closely packed mass of unshaped stones chinked with pieces of tile and large pottery sherds, including fragments of amphorae (Fig. 18). These are laid in earth except for the outer edge which has flat stones laid in mortar. This foundation is preserved to a maximum height of 0.42 m.

The faces of all the partition walls and pedestals were covered with a thick even layer of very white plaster whose surface is rather rough. This plaster differs in appearance from the finer white plaster that covered the walls of the original entryway. The finer plaster has a very smooth, polished surface and a slightly brownish base coat. The best preserved portions of this plaster, at the time of excavation, adhered to much of the surface of the left wall (Fig. 21), and continued around the corner to cover the back wall. Many fragments of this same plaster were discovered in the fill near the pavement along the wall, and traces can also be found

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from the inner face of the right wall (thus reinforcing the façade wall), or it stopped at the edge of the paving with a shorter length of 1.70 m. as shown on the restored plan, Fig. 3. F. E. Brown has suggested to me that this alcove may have been closed by a low wall along the edge of the paving, connecting the large squared block at the end of the partition wall (this block would then be *in situ* as conjectured above, n. 6) with another large squared block built into the façade wall, jutting out from the pedestal. The left end of the first block does, in fact, line up with the right end of the second (Fig. 19; see also Fig. 2). This enclosing wall is indicated by dotted lines in the restored plan, Fig. 3. The alcove could then have served as a place for a lustral basin.

[8] This is confirmed by traces of the plaster from the interior of the entryway which are preserved behind the semi-circular and rectangular bases along the back wall; see below, p. 13.

on the back wall behind the later pedestals. Along the left wall, the plaster originally joined a lip of the paving upturned against the wall to meet it.

Thus the plaster on the outer walls of the building is contemporary with the paving, both belonging to the older entryway for which the back and right walls were constructed. The partition walls, pedestals, "bench," and altar are contemporary with the emplacement of the reused sill blocks, the rightmost of which fits against the jumbled masonry of the façade and the doorway pedestal. The interior walls, "bench," and pedestals, but not the altar, rest on the *opus signinum* paving of the entryway. The narrow room along the left side of the building and the alcove in the right front corner are still paved with the original *signinum*. The paving in the alcove, however, was cut into and removed along the line of the edge of the "bench" (Fig. 19). Along the left side, the paving is quite ruinous near the façade due to the olive roots; it is better preserved near the back and between the left wall and semicircular base. Between the end of the T-shaped partition wall and this base, only the *rudus* is preserved. When the building was used as an entryway, the paving which received the most wear would have been that in the center of the building. The paving on the sides apparently remained in good enough condition to have been retained in the later reconstruction. At that time the ruined central portion was removed and replaced with a beaten red earth floor.[9] The altar was then erected on the earth floor in the central open space.

FINDS

A wide variety of finds was discovered inside the building.[10] All of these are related to the last phase in the use of the structure, although many were executed at an earlier time and then reused in the shrine. Some of the earlier finds are anomalies which cannot readily be associated with either shrine or entryway. These were found in the layer of fill from fallen walls and in the central earth-paved portion of the building. Hence, it is assumed that these materials were built into the later interior walls. These include two terracotta architectural members, a lion's head spout (Cat. no. 12) and a fragmentary antefix preserving the headless bust of a draped woman (Cat. no. 11), as well as several small pieces of marble sculpture.[11] Another architectural member, a "Doric" column capital of travertine (Cat. no. 10), was probably used inside the shrine. This was found upside-down on the earth floor beside the "bench" on the right side of the room (Fig. 18) and may have been used as a base or stand. Also used in the shrine were the major pieces of marble sculpture and an inscribed marble support. Executed contemporaneously with the shrine are the coins, lamps, and pottery. More difficult to date are the miscellaneous small finds, some of which could be strays, unrelated to either shrine or entryway.[12]

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[9] This was done also in the Christian church built into the ruins of the basilica.

[10] Descriptions and brief discussions of all the finds may be found in the appended catalogue.

The finds most significant for the identification and dating of the shrine are those which were in use when the shrine was abandoned. These were found scattered on the floor and covered with the windblown dust which had filtered in before the walls and roof collapsed, sealing them *in situ*. The statue of Bacchus (Cat. no. 1; Fig. 22), whose head and arms were never found, was discovered between the altar and the rectangular base on the back wall of the shrine along with the travertine base into which the plinth of the statue fits. Two small female heads, presumably broken from statuettes of Venus (Cat. nos. 2 and 3; Figs. 23-24), were found immediately above the sill blocks overlying the column plinth in the doorway. Nearby, a table support in the form of a herm of Dionysus (Cat. no. 4; Fig. 25) had to be extricated from the roots of the olive tree growing at the left front of the building. A small head of Hercules (Cat. no. 5; Fig. 26), broken from a bust, was found by the right front corner of the rectangular base along the back wall. Between the altar and the end of the T-shaped partition wall, a relief depicting the attributes of Minerva (Cat.

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[11] These include a fragment of revetment depicting plane leaves (Cat. no. 8) and three pieces of a fluted pedestal for a basin or table (Cat. no. 6).

[12] See Cat. nos. 104-109 for descriptions of the small finds.

no. 7; Fig. 28) was found face down in the rubble of the collapsed walls. The traces of mortar on the back of the relief and the stratum in which it was found suggest that it was set into a wall. Closer to the end of the T-shaped partition wall and in the lowest "finds" level were grouped together over a dozen fragments of an inscribed marble stele (Cat. no. 9; Fig. 30).

The lamps (Cat. nos. 13-42) and pottery (Cat. nos. 43-74) were found mainly along the left side of the building between the left wall and the T-shaped partition wall and semi-circular base. Most of the lamps and a few pieces of pottery were discovered around the semi-circular and rectangular bases at the back of the building. The concentration of lamps and pottery in these areas suggests, first, that the room along the left side of the shrine was a storeroom or pantry, and second, that many of the lamps were customarily used or stored on the two pedestals near where they were found. Occasionally pottery was found elsewhere in or even outside the shrine. One example of a ritual vessel (Cat. no. 65; Fig. 48) joins a handle which was found in the portico in front of the shrine in the 1967 excavations. On the basis of this join several other fragments of ritual vessels found in the portico have been associated with the shrine.[13]

The coins (Cat. nos. 75-103) were found scattered on or trodden into the earth floor in the center of the shrine. Most, however, were concentrated around the two bases at the back of the room, suggesting that a collection box may have been placed on one of them.

DATING

The dating of the floruit of the shrine is based mainly on the evidence of the coins. All together one hundred and nine small and medium bronze coins were found. Of these, all but one are identifiable as coins of the fourth and fifth centuries,[14] although most of them cannot be classified as to date of mint. Fifty, however, can be identified and dated. The earliest, a coin of Licinius II minted in 317, the first year of his reign, was found embedded in the earth floor. The latest is a coin of Honorius minted between 410 and 423. Within this span of time the greatest number of coins issued by a single emperor is a group of nine of Constantius II minted between 351 and 361. The next most frequent coins are three of Valentinian I minted between 364 and 375, three of Valens minted between 364 and 378, and two of Valentinian II minted between 383 and 392. Most of the rest belong to the House of Constantine (eight coins), or to the period between the reigns of Valentinian I (364-375) and Valentinian III (425-455) (nineteen coins). Thus, the bulk of the classifiable coins can be dated toward the end of the fourth and in the first half of the fifth centuries.[15]

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[13] Cat. nos. 71-74.

[14] All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted. See the catalogue, pp. 86-89, for a complete list of the coins.

Despite this evidence, it is not possible to fix precisely the date of construction and abandonment of the shrine. The coin of Licinius II and those of the House of Constantine suggest that the shrine was certainly functioning by the middle of the fourth century if not before. The rest of the coins indicate that the shrine flourished during the fourth and well into the fifth (perhaps even to the end of the fifth century), because the worn and corroded condition of almost all of them, including the latest, suggests a long active circulation before the shrine was abandoned.

USE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUCTURE

This excavation has revealed a late antique structure of unusual type built into the walls of a pre-existing building which originally served as an entryway of the Republican forum. The late antique structure has certain significant features in the arrangement of its floor plan. The pantry on the left is separated from the broad, central area with the altar in the middle and the "bench" and small room on the right. Low bases are placed against the back and front walls. The finds and their finding places within the building serve to establish the nature of the structure. The inscribed stele provides the name of the deity worshipped: Liber Pater, or Bacchus. The inscription reads: LIBERO / ZOE / MATER / D(ONUM) P(OSUIT). Bacchus is actually represented in the statue which was found between the altar and the base opposite it. The statue probably stood on the rectangular base along the back wall, flanked by side walls which may have supported an arcosolium. This would then have been the place of honor reserved for the image of the deity. Bacchic also is the table support in the form of a herm of the bearded Dionysus; the head of Hercules presents a Bacchic aspect in the crown of vine leaves on his head.[16] The remaining three marble sculptures used in the shrine are not Bacchic: the two female heads belonging to statuettes of Venus and the relief bearing the attributes of Minerva.[17]

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[15] This pattern of distribution among the fourth and fifth century coins coincides with that of other late antique coins found elsewhere on the site, particularly in the area of the forum, giving a picture of a reinhabited Cosa during these centuries. The numismatic evidence has been discussed by T. V. Buttrey in his forthcoming publication of the coins from Cosa.

The pottery also testifies to the Bacchic nature of the building. Three cups (Cat. nos. 43-45; Fig. 39) exhibit the two-handled *kantharos* shape associated with Dionysus. Several small jugs (Cat. nos. 47-55; Fig. 41) were found as well as several large, open *krater*-like vessels presumably used for mixing wine. These vessels were specially made for ritual purposes, for one has a small bowl attached to its rim in the manner of a *kernos* (Cat. no. 69; Fig. 43) and most of the others have snakes crawling around the sides and up the handles (Cat. nos. 64-67; Figs. 47-50). Others have various motives crudely modeled and applied to their walls, such as *bucrania* (Cat. no. 64; Fig. 47). Many of these appliqués were found separately, broken from their vessels, such as a lizard (Cat. no. 72a; Fig. 62), a winged head (Cat. no. 72b; Fig. 63), and many snakes (Cat. no. 71; Figs. 54-61). These ritual vessels are particularly interesting because they have not been previously associated with Bacchus, and many of the appliqués, also, cannot be easily associated with him.[18] Nevertheless, these vessels, cups, and jugs do attest that a good bit of drinking took place in the shrine. That meals were taken there, too, is shown by a large piece of a fire-blackened casserole with lid (Cat. nos. 62-63; Figs.

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[16] On the Bacchic nature of Hercules see below pp. 24-27.

[17] On Venus' and Minerva's connections with Dionysus see below pp. 27-29.

[18] See further discussion below, pp. 29-37.

45-46). Thus the pottery finds confirm the identification of the long, low "bench" built against the right wall as a couch, a built-in banqueting couch somewhat reminiscent of those found in *mithraea*. The large quantity of lamps seems to indicate that at least some meals were celebrated at night.

The building appears to have been constructed to provide a gathering place or clubhouse for the devotees of Bacchus where they could celebrate their drinking parties and sacred meals. Banquets and wine drinking were common in Bacchic cults from the Hellenistic period on.[19] These banquets, or the servants or officials implying their existence, are mentioned frequently in inscriptions, of which one of the most informative is the list of regulations published by the Iobacchi of second century A.D. Athens.[20] Although most of the epigraphical evidence for such banquets or drinking parties comes from Greek lands, illustrations of them in the pictorial arts come from Italy as well.[21] Many of the latter occur in a funerary context, such as drinking parties represented on lids of sarcophagi.[22] These parties and meals were held in honor of Dionysus whether or not they were celebrated by mystery or non-mystery associations.[23] Thus they were either fellowship meals shared by the initiates of the mysteries, or they were purely social events associated with Bacchic or other festivals. In the case of the mystery association these meals would also have been considered an earthly anticipation of the continuing joyful banquets of the blessed afterlife in which only the initiates could share.[24] Wine drinking was of central importance in these meals, naturally enough in celebrating the god of wine, and it is sometimes the only activity that took place, as in the association of the Iobacchi. This aspect of the sacred meal was certainly of major importance at Cosa, as the finds in the shrine attest; for dinnerware such as plates and platters are singularly lacking.[25]

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[19] The most recent discussion of the sacred meal in the Dionysiac mysteries is by J. P. Kane, "The Mithraic Cult Meal in its Greek and Roman Environment," *Mithraic Studies*, edited by John R. Hinnells, vol. 2 (Manchester 1975) 334-339. See also Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, p. 363; *idem*, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 61-64, 145; *idem*, "New Evidence for the Dionysiac Mysteries," *Eranos* 53 (1955) 30; and A. J. Festugière, "Les mystères de Dionysos," *RBibl* 44 (1935) 204, 205-206.

[20] The inscriptions have been collected in the works of Nilsson and Festugière, supra n. 19. On the Iobacchi inscription (*IG*^{2}, 1368; *SIG*^{3}, 1109) see the most recent discussion and bibliography in Franciszek Sokolowski, *Lois sacrés des cités grecques*, École française d'Athènes, fasc. 18 (Paris 1969) 95-101, no. 51. It dates in the years before 178 A.D. I thank my husband, Kevin Clinton, for bringing this reference to my attention.

[21] Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, p. 359; *idem*, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 46, 64. For references to Dionysiac banquets, see Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, part 3, p. 329. On the history of the banquet scene in Greco-Roman art, see Jean-Marie Dentzer, "Aux origines de l'iconographie du banquet couché," *RA* (1971) 215-258.

[22] Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, part 3, pp. 328-339.

[23] Kane (supra n. 19) 339; Festugière (supra n. 19) 206; Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, p. 359; *idem*, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 46-64.

Bacchic associations must ordinarily have required buildings or houses in which to hold their banquets and other ceremonies. A considerable body of evidence, literary, epigraphical, and archaeological, confirms that special structures were erected for these purposes by different sorts of Bacchic groups, such as the Iobacchi in Athens, mystery associations, and professional corporations.[26] These buildings take various forms and are called by different names in the written sources. They may be private or sacred houses, temples, *sacraria*, grottoes for summer dining, or the special structures called a βακχεῖον (*bacchium*) or a στιβάδειον (*stibadium*) after the dining couch, στιβάς, on which the revellers reclined.[27] That Bacchic groups met in private homes is attested by the survival of at least two large houses in Italy where the walls of *oeci* are beautifully decorated with fresco paintings depicting scenes from the mysteries: the Villa of the Mysteries and the Homeric House (or House of the Cryptoporticus) in Pompeii.[28] Given the form of the Cosa edifice, it is obvious that it cannot be considered a grotto or a temple or a house. Thus, it would seem to have its closest comparison in those buildings called a βακχεῖον, a *stibadium*, or a *sacrarium*. However, the inscriptions mentioning these three forms do not always expressly indicate that dining occurred in them. The βακχεῖον and the *stibadium* are the most likely to have featured dining. For the βακχεῖον only one inscription uses the term in a context of banqueting, the Iobacchi inscription. For the στιβάδειον, or *stibadium*, the very root of the word itself would imply that the structure was concerned with dining. Thus, for example, the στιβάδειον mentioned in an inscription from Pergamon could have served as a dining hall,[29]

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[24] On the eschatological significance of the sacred meal in the Bacchic mysteries see especially the works of Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven 1922) 35, 119-120; 201-204; *idem, Religions orientales* [4], pp. 202-203; *idem, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris 1942) 372-373, 417-420; and *idem, Lux perpetua* (Paris 1949) 255-256. The Bacchic initiates visualized the afterlife as a perpetual banquet. See also Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 116-132, 144-147.

[25] This could, of course, be purely fortuitous.

[26] On Bacchic structures in general see Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 86, 197-205, 206, 281-282; Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 61-64; and Charles Picard, "Un Type méconnu de lieu-saint dionysiaque: le *stibadeion*," *CRAI* (1944) 127-157.

[27] On the βακχεῖον see Kern, "βακχεῖον," *RE* 2 (1896) 2783-2784 and Karl Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (Leipzig 1898) 61*. Of these the most important is that of the Iobacchi in Athens, in the ruins of which the well-known inscription was found. Their clubhouse is called a βακχεῖον in line 101 of the inscription. Another βακχεῖον is mentioned in a second century B.C. inscription from Cyme; A. Salač, "Inscriptions de Kymé d'Éolide, de Phocée,

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de Tralles et de quelques autres villes d'Asie Mineure," *BCH* 51 (1927) 375-377. The Latin equivalent, *bacchium*, does not occur in reference to a building; see Ettore de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico de antichità romane*, s.v. "*Bacchium*" and *ThLL*, s.v. "Bacchus—*Bacchium*." On the στιβάδειον and the στιβάς see Poland, "στιβάδειον," *RE* series 2, 3 (1929) 2481 and *idem*, "στιβάς," *RE* 2, 3 (1929) 2482-2484. Both words originally meant a rustic dining couch or bed of leaves or straw and eventually came to refer to permanent buildings containing dining couches. On these words and the Latin *stibadium* as structures see Buresch (supra n. 27) 61*, Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 63, and Picard (supra n. 26) who has discussed the topic on pp. 127-129 and has gathered an extensive bibliography on p. 127, nn. 1 and 2. See also Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 307 on the *stibadium* as a special type of Bacchic sanctuary. The Iobacchi of Athens apparently also used the word στιβάς to refer to their clubhouse (lines 63 and 70 of the inscription).

[28] The *oecus* in the Villa of the Mysteries is the room with great fresco depicting a Bacchic rite; see especially M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy* (N.Y. 1927) 42-55 and Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries* (supra n. 19) 66-76; also Karl Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin 1957) 293-294. For the most recent interpretation of the frescoes see O. J. Brendel, "Der grosse Fries in der Villa dei Misteri," *JdI* 81 (1966) 206-260. The *oecus* in the Homeric House (Reg. I, Ins. 6, 2-4) is hidden in the basement at one end of the *cryptoporticus* near a kitchen or bath; see especially Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-94 and Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 76; also Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22. These rooms are usually thought to have served as places where various Bacchic ceremonies, including banquets, were held; see Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 145 and Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[29] Max Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Altertümer von Pergamon, vol. 8, part 1 (Berlin 1890) no. 222.

as well as the *stibadia* in Rome restored by Pontius and Achilleus.[30]

Bacchic structures known archaeologically, which are not temples, also do not always present obvious evidence of dining facilities. At least four buildings may be cited: in Athens, Pergamon, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Pompeii.[31] Among these, inscriptions exist to identify firmly at least one and perhaps a second: the βακχεῖον in Athens, the clubhouse of the Iobacchi, and the στιβάδειον in Pergamon.

The βακχεῖον of the Iobacchi is identified by the inscription found in its ruins.[32] It is located on the southwest slope of the Areopagus and was excavated by Dörpfeld in 1894.[33] When excavated, it had only the lowest courses of its walls and the lowest column drums, and it lacked its interior embellishment and the paving of the floor. Its plan is rectangular with a rectangular "apse" at the east end containing two small rooms. The main room is divided by two rows of columns into a nave and two narrow side aisles. In the nave are two rectangular and one round structure whose functions are unknown. Since no permanent couch-like installations were found, one must assume that the Iobacchi dined on mattresses on the floor, the traditional στιβάς, or on pieces of furniture.

The second building is in Pergamon, located just south of the theater on the theater terrace.[34] This may be the στιβάδειον mentioned in the inscription cited above, p. 20, n. 29. It, too, is preserved only in the lowest courses of its walls. Its interior decoration and floor paving are largely missing. It is also rectangular and has a "niche" opening off the main room from the back or east wall. Again, no permanent installations for dining are preserved, although drains exist below the level of the pavement in both rooms. The excavator concluded that the building may have been a dining hall.[35] Constructed sometime between the reigns of Eumenes II and Attalos II as the Attaleion of Craton,[36] it may have been used in Roman times, according to Picard, as the στιβάδειον mentioned in the inscription and used by the *thiasos* of Dionysos Kathegemon.[37]

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[30] *CIL*, VI, 2251 and 2252 (*ILS*, 3369 and 3370). On these three *stibadia* as structures used for dining see also Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 63.

[31] Picard (supra n. 26) has tried to demonstrate that at least three additional buildings, little more than *exedrae*, were in fact *stibadia*. These are in Thasos, Delos, and Tenos. They seem to me, however, too small to accommodate the people, much less the couches and other paraphernalia necessary for banquets. Open on one side and located in fairly public places, they also lack privacy. Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 63, also does not seem convinced of Picard's theory. The fourth building Picard discusses is the one at Pergamon; this is a better candidate: larger, more closed, and set back from the main thoroughfare. See further discussion below, p. 21-22.

[32] Supra n. 20.

[33] Wilhelm Dörpfeld, "Die Ausgrabungen am West Abhänge der Akropolis, II: Das Lenaion oder Dionysion in den Limnai," *AthMitt* 20 (1895) 161, 176-180. See also John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) s.v. "Herakles Alexikakos," p. 274 and figs. 351, 353.

[34] Richard Bohn, *Die Theater-terrasse*, Altertümer von Pergamon, vol. 4 (Berlin 1896) 18-20, called "*Nischenbau*"; and Picard (supra n. 26) 142-146.

The other two buildings are known only archaeologically. The one in Magnesia on the Maeander is located by the *scaenae frons* of the theater[38] and has been compared to the στιβάδειον at Pergamon.[39] Called the "Northwest Building," its function is unknown, although its proximity to the theater suggests a Bacchic use, perhaps by a theatrical group.[40] Its plan bears some resemblance to that of the βακχεῖον of the Iobacchi in that it is rectangular and has interior columns and a room opening off the main hall. The columns, however, are set against the wall so that there are no side aisles, and the small room opens off the long side of the building opposite the entrance. There are no indications of permanent dining facilities.

The last one is a small sanctuary of Bacchus and Ariadne on the hill of S. Abbondio outside Pompeii.[41] It is unpublished, but according to preliminary remarks of Maiuri, the excavator, it was built at the end of the third or beginning of the second century

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[35] Bohn (supra n. 34) 20.

[36] Picard (supra n. 26) 144.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-146. It must be kept in mind, however, that the association of this building with the στιβάδειον in the inscription is uncertain.

[38] Wilhelm Dörpfeld, "Ausgrabungen im Theater von Magnesia am Maiandros—Das Theatergebäude," *AthMitt* 19 (1894) 91-92.

[39] Bohn (supra n. 34) 20.

[40] Picard (supra n. 26) 154, n. 2. He does not consider it a *stibadium.*

[41] Amedeo Maiuri, *Pompeii,* 7th ed., Itineraries of the Museums, Galleries and Monuments in Italy, no. 3 (Rome 1954) 101-102; *idem, Pompei ed Ercolano fra case e abitanti* (Milan 1959) 157-161; Bruhl, *Liber Pater,* p. 86.

B.C. and continued in use as the seat of a religious association down to the destruction of the city by the eruption of Vesuvius. Apparently, banquets were held there on two couches constructed on the outside of the building.[42]

The plans for the three published buildings are larger and much more elaborate than that of the Cosa structure, as one might expect, for the three were located in large cities and were constructed at an earlier date for a larger group of people. The plans, furthermore, do not resemble that of the Cosa building except for the rectangular shape. Notably absent from those buildings are traces of permanently installed couches which form so striking an aspect of the building at Cosa. This built-in feature is shared with the couches built into *mithraea*, a typical example of which continued in use for a time at least at Cosa in late antiquity. Whether or not this *mithraeum* was a source of direct inspiration for the couch in Cosa's *stibadium* can only be a matter for speculation.[43]

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDS

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the sort of Bacchic association which frequented the *stibadium* at Cosa: whether it was a mystery association or a confraternity of persons loosely joined by a common worship of Bacchus in the manner of the Iobacchi in Athens. It would not have been a group worshipping a divinity other than Bacchus owing to the Bacchic nature of the finds, despite those finds which refer to other divinities. It remains now to explain the presence of these other deities. Direct representations occur in the small bust of Hercules, the relief with the attributes of Minerva, and the two fragmentary statuettes of Venus. The *kernos* and the "snakeware" refer indirectly to other divinities in whose worship those ritual vessels are more at home.

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[42] Maiuri, *Pompei ed Ercolano* (supra n. 41) 158. The placement of the dining couches on the exterior of the building does not seem a very private location, unless curtains were hung or other arrangements made to ensure privacy.

[43] On the *mithraeum* at Cosa see Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "Cosa and Rome," (supra n. 1) 55, and Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 2, no. 662B and fig. 251. It corresponds to number 6 on the plan of the forum, Fig. 1. It was constructed in the cellar of the curia in the late second century and continued in use through the fourth century. I am indebted to Mr. Richardson for sharing this information with me in several discussions and correspondence. For the form of the Mithraic sanctuary see M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* (N.Y., 1963) 37-43, particularly pp. 39-40 for the benches; see further pp. 43-66 on specific *mithraea*.

All of the above marble sculptures were reused in the late antique shrine. The statuettes probably served originally as private statuary of a decorative nature placed in house or garden, from the ruins of which the worshippers of Bacchus removed them to their shrine. Although the original function of the Minerva relief is as yet unknown, it too presumably was brought to the shrine for the same reasons as the others. These works do not fit into the Bacchic religious context as readily as the reused marble sculptures representing Dionysus directly (Cat. nos. 1 and 4) and the inscription (Cat. no. 9),[44] and, since they all were probably found purely by chance, one can only speculate on the reasons for reusing them at all.

The small bust of Hercules is represented with grape leaves stuck into the fillet around his head (Cat. no. 5; Fig. 26). He has thus a Bacchic aspect which must have had an immediate and relevant appeal. This particular image of the bearded head of Hercules can be traced back to a type of head developed by Lysippos in the fourth century B.C. for a colossal statue of Herakles.[45] After this in Hellenistic and Roman times, bearded heads of Hercules wearing a fillet and vine leaves become quite common.[46] The Lysippean type after which the Cosa head is patterned is related to that of the Herakles Epitrapezios, also created by Lysippos.[47] Here, Herakles is shown seated and holding out a cup of wine in an attitude of heroic repose after having attained immortality.[48] This image of Herakles' repose goes back to the sixth century B.C. in Greek vase painting where he is shown resting under a tree; by the end of the century, the repose came to be expressed in terms of a banquet, often celebrated with Dionysus.[49] Thus, even before Lysippos created his Herakles Epitrapezios, there was already a long artistic tradition of Herakles drinking or banqueting, sometimes along with Dionysus, thus giving the Herakles Epitrapezios a distinctly Bacchic aspect.[50] The Roman Hercules, of course, loved his wine and he is shown in works of art also engaged in a drinking contest with Dionysus.[51] The theme of the drunken Hercules, furthermore, accounts for his inclusion in the Bacchic *thiasos* from Hellenistic times on.[52] It becomes very popular in Roman times where Hercules *bibax* appears in representations of the Bacchic *thiasos* on sarcophagi.[53] The imagery in these representations is, of course, funerary, illustrating the Bacchic concept of the afterlife as a continuing joyful revel or banquet (supra p. 19 and n. 24).[54]

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[44] This stele, which supported a gift to Dionysus, must have come from a place dedicated to his worship, probably within the town. The meaning of the inscription, which mentions a religious title, corroborates this idea further, since it definitely implies the existence of a Bacchic association at Cosa during the early Empire. See below, p. 57.

[45] See below, Cat. no. 5 and n. 10.

[46] A. Furtwängler, "Herakles," Roscher *Lexikon*, 1, 2 (1886-1890) 2178. For further discussion of Herakles wearing a vine wreath see E. T. Wakeley and B. S. Ridgway, "A Head of Herakles in the Philadelphia University Museum," *AJA* 69 (1965) 156-160.

[47] See below, Cat. no. 5 and n. 10.

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[48] Fernand de Visscher, "Hérakles Epitrapezios," *AntCl* 30 (1961) 97-98.

[49] Henri Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVᵉ siècle*, BEFAR, fasc. 162 (Paris 1951) 218-220; Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947) vol. 1, p. 21; Paolo Mingazzini, "Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell'apoteosi di Herakles," *MemLinc*, ser. 6, vol. 1 (1925) 467-470, 488.

[50] Visscher (supra n. 48) 99; F. Durrbach, "Hercules," *DarSag* 3, 1 (1900) 112-114; Mingazzini (supra n. 49) 473, n. 2 and 490.

[51] Levi (supra n. 49) 21-22 where he has collected the examples apropos of two Roman mosaics from Antioch representing this contest. Hercules *bibax* is also represented, alone and standing, on a clay medallion from Mellecey; see Ch. Alegoet and H. Vertet, "Un médaillon d'applique rhodanien a Mellecey (Saône-et-Loire)," *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-est* 22 (1971) 169-171 and Marcel Chassaing, "A propos d'un médaillon d'applique rhodanien a Mellecey," *loc. cit.*, pp. 409-410.

[52] Furtwängler (supra n. 46) 2249-2250; Carl Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, Griechische Mythologie, L. Preller, ed., 4th ed., vol. 2, 2 (Berlin 1921) 647. See also Mingazzini (supra n. 49) 470-473, 489 for Herakles in the Bacchic *thiasos* on South Italian vases of the fourth century B.C.

[53] Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, part 1, nos. 28, 38, 39, 41, 45, 46, 46A, 47, 50, 61; part 2, nos. 97-101, 118, 140, 148, 160, 161; part 3, nos. 212, 215, 228; part 4, nos. 273, 324, 332, 344, 345, 369. Robert Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains a représentations dionysiaques*, BEFAR, fasc. 210 (Paris 1966) 221, 239, 241, 246, 248 *et passim*, 469-470.

[54] See also Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 130-131. Hercules had his

The inclusion of Hercules in the Bacchic *thiasos* was brought about however, not just by the common bond of wine drinking: Hercules and Dionysus shared many more connections. Both were fathered by Zeus of a mortal woman—in both cases a Theban princess.[55] The immortality, which Hercules' repose at a banquet represents, was acquired only after he performed the famous labors and other feats—several of which symbolize his triumph over death.[56] Dionysus himself triumphed over death in two ways, according to beliefs current in his mystery cult during the Roman age. First, he was reborn after having been dismembered as a child by the Titans; later, he retrieved his mother, Semele, from the Underworld.[57] Moreover, the close connection between Hercules and Bacchus goes beyond these mythological ties, for the two were worshipped together in a common cult at least as early as the sixth century B.C. throughout Macedonia and Thrace, including the island of Thasos, and their names or images are linked in several monuments found in this region during Roman times.[58] They are linked in various other monuments from other parts of the Roman world as well,[59] and they were patron gods of Leptis Magna, the birthplace of Septimius Severus, who erected a temple

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own funerary significance, moreover, quite apart from that of Dionysus; on this see Jean Bayet, "Hercule funéraire," *MélRome* 39 (1921-1922) 219-266; *idem, Les origines de l'Hercule romain,* BEFAR, fasc. 132 (Paris 1926) 396-419; Cumont, *Recherches* (supra n. 24) 22, 28, 415-420. For the Greek antecedents of Hercules' funerary significance see also Mingazzini (supra n. 49) 474, 489.

[55] H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris 1951) 452; Lenormant, "Bacchus," *DarSag,* 1, 1 (1877) 632; Robert (supra n. 52) 647.

[56] Visscher (supra n. 48) 98; also Bayet, "Hercule funéraire," (supra n. 54) 239-247; *idem, Les origines* (supra n. 54) 396-407.

[57] On this see Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 38-45.

[58] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 214; Paul Collart, *Phillipes, ville de Macedoine,* École française d'Athènes, Travaux et Mémoires, fasc. 5 (Paris 1937) 401-416; Gruppe, "Herakles," *RE,* Supplement 3 (1918) 1097-1098; Jeanmaire (supra n. 55) 453; Gawril Kazarow, "Thrake (Religion)," *RE,* series 2, 11 (1936) 493-495, 518-519; Marcel Launey, *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Hérakles a Thasos,* Études Thasiennes, vol. 1 (Paris 1944) 153-157; D. Zontschew, "Denkmäler der Verbindung von Herakles und Dionysos in Moesien und Thrakien," *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger,* vol. 1 (Klagenfurt 1952) 37-40.

[59] Bruhl, *Liber Pater,* pp. 149, 150, 190, 202, 244, and 326; Bayet, *Les origins* (supra n. 54) 393.

for them in Rome and had their images included on his coinage.[60] Furthermore, a statuette of the reclining Hercules was found near Rome along with other images, mostly those of Bacchus. These apparently belonged to a *sacrarium* of Bacchus mentioned in fragmentary inscriptions included with the find.[61] Thus, the connections between Hercules and Bacchus are so many and varied, with a long history continuing through late Roman times, that to discover an image of Hercules in a Bacchic shrine is not surprising.

In the relief depicting the attributes of Minerva (Cat. no. 7; Fig. 28), the connection between Minerva and Bacchus is not so immediately apparent as that between Hercules and Bacchus because there are no overtly Bacchic references, such as the vine leaves in Hercules' fillet. There are, however, two stories concerning the infancy of Dionysus which may have been known to Dionysus' worshippers even in a rural place like Cosa late in antiquity. One is the myth in which the child Dionysus-Zagreus, the son of Persephone and Zeus, was killed and torn apart by the Titans. The dismembered child was buried at Delphi, but not until Athena, sent by Zeus, had retrieved his heart so that Dionysus might be reborn. The basic story of the dismemberment of Dionysus by the Titans is preserved in several ancient sources, going back perhaps to the sixth century B.C. Through the medium of the Neoplatonists it remained popular to the sixth century A.D.[62]

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[60] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 167, 191, 199, 224, and 244.

[61] Edoardo Gatti, "Roma, Regione XII: Scoperte di antichità nella città e nel suburbio, Via Cassia," *NSc* (1925) 387-399; Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 202.

On the connections between Dionysus and Hercules in general see the forthcoming book by M. J. Vermaseren, *Liber in Deum: l'apoteosi di un iniziato dionisiaco*, EPRO 53 (Leiden 1976). See also H. Sichtermann, "Erakle," *EAA* 3 (1960) 378-390 and Furtwängler (supra n. 46) 2249-2250.

[62] I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1941) 355; on the story in general see pp. 307-364. See also W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, 2nd ed. (London 1952) 82-83, also pp. 107-120; M. P. Nilsson, "Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements," *HThR* 28 (1935) 202-203, 221; *idem*, *GGR* 2^2, 244-245; and Pierre Boyancé, *Le culte des muses chez les philosophes grecs*, reprint of 1937 edition with additional notes, BEFAR, fasc. 141 (Paris 1972) 87-88, 383. On other aspects of the story see Fritz Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, vol. 33 (Berlin 1974) 66-78.

Although this story is often considered to be exclusively Orphic, only a few of the ancient references connect it specifically to Orpheus, and it does appear in other contexts.[63] Nevertheless, Orphic or not, Dionysus remains the central element of the story, and at the end he is restored to life.[64] Thus it contains the ingredients so basic to most ancient mystery religions in which a dying and rising god triumphs over death as a symbol of ensuring a happy afterlife for the initiates.[65] It is therefore a story which could have great relevance to the Dionysiac mysteries.

The second is a story that is not Orphic. It is told by Diodorus Siculus, who states that the child Dionysus, after being brought to Nysa, was protected by Athena.[66] The story goes on to single out Athena and Dionysus, who, along with Zeus and the other gods, fought together against the Giants. This account explicitly presents Athena as a protector of Dionysus. Thus Minerva has

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The incident of Athena saving the heart of Dionysus appears in only four sources: Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.*, II, 17, 2-18, 1), Firmicus Maternus (*Err. prof. rel.*, 6), Proclus (*Hymn to Athena*, lines 11-15), and the Scholium of Lycophron (355). For more references to other ancient sources regarding this story see Ernestus Vogt, *Procli Hymni*, Klassisch-philologische Studien, edited by Hans Herter and Wolfgang Schmid, vol. 18 (Wiesbaden 1957) commentary on lines 11-15 of the *Hymn to Athena*, p. 78.

[63] Linforth (supra n. 62) 307-308, 356-359. Whether or not this story is purely Orphic, other Orphic ideas were incorporated into the Dionysiac Mysteries certainly by Roman times if not earlier. On this see Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 133-143 where he discusses an important inscription from Smyrna, dated in the second century, which mentions the sacred meal celebrated by a Dionysiac mystery association in which eggs must not be eaten. The egg is a reference to the Orphic cosmic egg, the concept of which was incorporated into the Dionysiac mysteries according to texts of Plutarch and Macrobius (*ibid.*, p. 140; also Linforth [supra n. 62] 225-226). In addition, the heart of sacrificed victims must not be burned; this probably refers to Athena's deed of saving the heart of Dionysus. See also Nilsson, "New Evidence for the Dionysiac Mvsteries,"(supra n. 19) 28-31; and F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrés de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955) no. 84 and commentary on p. 188. On the close association of Dionysus to Orphic ideas in Orphic texts see Linforth, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-232, 264. All these texts are later than 300 B.C.

[64] See Linforth (supra n. 62) 314-316 on the rebirth of Dionysus.

[65] Nilsson connects the Dionysus of this story with the Dionysos Liknites whom the Thyiads aroused by their ritual dancing at Delphi every second year; *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 38-45, especially pp. 40, 44.

[66] Diod., III, 70.

a special place among the myths concerning the childhood of Dionysus, even outside of Orphism.

The two small female heads (Cat. nos. 2-3; Figs. 23-24), belonged originally to statuettes probably representing Venus.[67] Whether the worshippers of Bacchus at Cosa realized this and included them in their shrine as Venus, we do not know. It is perhaps more sensible to suppose that the heads were considered to be Ariadne or Libera, divinities closely related to Bacchus, and thus given shelter along with the other foundlings who are likewise more or less at home in a Bacchic context.[68]

The *krater*-like ritual vessels mentioned above, p. 17, have not previously been associated with the cult of Bacchus. These vessels, with small bowls on rim or handle, resemble the *kernos* as described in various literary sources and used particularly in the cults of Demeter and Kore and of Cybele and Attis.[69] The type of *kernos* from Cosa, which takes the form of a *krater* with small bowls, or even lamps, placed on the handles, seems closer to that associated with the Magna Mater. The better known Eleusinian *kernos* has small bowls or cups placed on the rim and body, and it is not a *krater* but a large cup on a high foot.[70]

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[67] See below pp. 50-51.

[68] Venus, however, is not altogether devoid of Bacchic connections. Saint Augustine in his *City of God* mentions Libera as identified with Venus in a passage (VI, 9) based on a lost work of Varro; see Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 17-18 and Harald Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, vol. 2 (Göteborg 1967) 606. Varro's work, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum—Rerum divinarum libri XVI*, however, dealt with early Roman religion, and the comments of St. Augustine cannot necessarily be taken to reflect contemporary late Roman religious views; Hagendahl, p. 608. Nevertheless, Venus and Bacchus are linked in Roman times in other ways. Two wall paintings from Pompeii show them along with Apollo (Olga Elia, "Lo Stibadio dionisiaco in pitture pompeiane," RömMitt 69 [1962] 118-127; she considers Venus as Venus-Libera, p. 120). Two inscriptions mention them together, but the links in those cases seem purely local and not relevant to the case at Cosa: (1) *CIL*, Supplement 1, no. 15578 from North Africa (see also Schur, "Liber Pater," *RE* 13 [1927] 74, who maintains that this association of Venus and Liber reflects local divinities), and (2) *AEpigr* (1922) no. 101 in which Venus, Liber Pater, and Hercules are mentioned in a small votive plaque from a *villa rustica* in Boscoreale. Here, again, the three divinities mentioned together apparently represent a local triad worshipped in the "vine-bearing Vesuvian countryside." See Matteo della Corte, "Case ed abitanti a Pompei, ricerche di epigrafia," *Neapolis* 2 (1914) 172-173, no. 11.

[69] On the *kernos* see most recently Robert Duthoy, *The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology*, EPRO 10 (Leiden 1969) 74-76, 99-101, 116, 118, 121; see also Leonard, "*Kernos*," *RE* 11, 1 (1921) 316-326; Erich Swoboda, "Die Schlange im Mithraskult," *JOAI* 30 (1937) 16-17; and Hugo Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Religiongeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, vol. 1 (Giessen 1903) 190-192.

Ritual vessels featuring snakes crawling about have most commonly been found at Roman sites in the provinces north of the Alps;[71] only a few have been found in the Mediterranean area.[72] Swoboda has classified the vessels known to him into eight

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[70] On the *krater*-form of the *kernos* in the cult of Cybele see Swoboda (supra n. 69) 16 and Leonard (supra n. 69) 325. Duthoy (supra n. 69) does not distinguish a special form of *kernos* used in the cult of Cybele, and apparently no *kernoi* have been found in her sanctuaries. According to Duthoy the *kernos* used in the cult of Cybele was a sacrificial bowl in which was placed the blood of the bull sacrificed during the *taurobolium* in the second stage of its development in cults of Cybele between ca. 225 and 300 (*op. cit.*, pp. 99-101, 116, 118, 121). After 300 it was apparently no longer used.

Regarding the placement of lamps on the *kernos* (Duthoy, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and Leonard [supra n. 69] 318, 325), see the fragment of a handle with a lamp attached to it that was found outside the Cosa shrine (Cat. no. 74, Figs. 65-66). Like the appliqués also found outside (Cat. nos. 71-73), this piece, too, may be associated with the shrine.

On the form and function of the *kernos* in the Eleusinian Mysteries see also G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1962) 221-222 and fig. 87.

[71] These have been collected and discussed at length by Swoboda (supra n. 69) 1-27; to his basic bibliography on p. 1 may be added the third edition of Felix Staehelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit* (Basel 1948) 551-556 and Elisabeth Ettlinger and Cristoph Simonett, *Römische Keramik aus dem Schutthügel von Vindonissa*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa, vol. 3 (Basel 1952) 64-65.

[72] These include a heavy strap handle, to which is applied a snake's body, found in the Mithraeum of Santa Prisca in Rome; see M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden 1965), 394, no. 153 and pl. XCV, 3. The snake's body is decorated with impressed dots as in the fragments from Cosa, Cat. no. 71-1. There is also a fragment from Capua; see Michael Abramić, "Archäologische Funde in Pettau," *JOAIBeibl* 17 (1914) 125-126 and fig. 111. The published vases from Pompeii lack snakes but do have small bowls on top of the handles; see Oscar Hölder, *Die Formen der römischen Thongefässe* (Stuttgart 1897) pl. VI, figs. 1, 3. See also Abramić, *op. cit.*, cols. 124-125.

Two vessels have been found at Isthmia in Greece. One, a *krater*, is decorated with two plastic snakes, each crawling up a handle to peer inside, impressed wavy lines on the body, and a scalloped rim. It was found in the West Waterworks at the western end of the temenos of the Temple of Poseidon and has been considered early Roman in date. See Oscar Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia, 1954," *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 121-122 and pl. 52, d and *idem, Topography and Architecture,* Isthmia, vol. 2 (Princeton 1973) 29, n. 28 and pl. 14, c. I owe this information to Mrs. Jeanne Peppers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; she is currently preparing a study of snake vessels. The other vase is a fragmentary *krater* preserving only one handle. It has only recently come to light; see M. E. Caskey, "News Letter from Greece," *AJA* 75 (1971) 300 and pl. 75, fig. 14 and J. P. Michaud, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1970," *BCH* 95 (1971) 848 and fig. 103. Judging from the published photograph, a snake winds around the body and up the handle to rest its head on the rim as if looking into the vessel. On the shoulder is applied a crudely modeled vine wreath. It was found in a fourth century A.D. context; see H. W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece, 1971-72," *Archaeological Reports* 18 (1972) 7-8. It is impossible to assign either of these two vessels to a particular cult since both were found in a disturbed context; no *mithraeum* has as yet been found.

The following examples may be added to Swoboda's list (supra n. 69):

1) Fragment of handle with snake from Mithraeum IV at Aquincum, in National Museum, Budapest (Tibor Nagy, "A Fövárosi régészeti és ásatási intézet jelentése az 1938-1942. évek között végzett kutatásairól," *Budapest Régiségei* 13 [1943] 386, fig. 27; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 2, no. 1772).

2) Three two-handled vessels and some sherds from Cologne, in Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (Günter Ristow, *Mithras im römischen Köln,* EPRO 42 [Leiden 1974] cat. nos. 9, 10, 13, 14, 37 on pp. 20-22, 31; cat. no. 34 on pp. 29-30 is included in Swoboda's Type 3; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 2, no. 1020).

3) Sherds from Faimingen (Thilo Ulbert, "Römische Gefässe mit Schlangen- und Eidechsenauflagen aus Bayern," *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 28 [1963] 60, no. 3 and figs. 4 and 6, 3-4).

4) Fragments of three-handled vessels and other sherds from Linz, in Linz Museum (Paul Karnitsch, "Der heilige Bezirk von Lentia," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* [1956] cat. nos. 188-191 on pp. 240-241 from Mithraeum T-1, cat. nos. 192-194 on p. 241 not from *mithraeum,* pls. VI, 8 and VIII, 8; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 2, no. 1418, 2-3).

5) Three-handled vessel from Maros-Lekencze (Eduard Beninger, "Ein westgotisches Brandgrab von Maros-Lekencze [Siebenbürgen]," *Mannus* 30 [1938] 123-124, fig. 2).

6) Sherds from Nassenfels (Ulbert, *op. cit.,* pp. 60-62, no. 4 and fig. 5, 1-3).

7) Three-handled *krater* from Pocking (Ulbert, *op. cit.,* pp. 57-58, no. 1 and fig. 1).

8) Two-handled vessel and sherds from Saalburg, in Saalburg Museum at Homburg (Jacobi, "Kastell Zugmantel," *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 5 [1913] part 2, p. 34 and fig. 13; Heinrich Jacobi, *Das Kastell Saalburg,* Obergermanisch-raetisches Limes des Roemerreiches, no. 11 [Berlin 1937] 47-48; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 2, nos. 1044, 1049).

9) Sherds from Straubing (Ulbert, *op. cit.,* p. 62, no. 5 and pl. 4, 2-3).

types based on the form of the pot, the number of its handles, and the placement of the snakes.[73] The vessels are most often large amphora- or *krater*-like vases with two or three handles. The snakes are placed on the handles or walls of the vessels and crawl up to rest their heads on the rim. The small bowls that appear on the Cosa examples are not always present; when they are, they are placed on the handles. In addition to the snakes, the vessels are decorated with representations in relief of other animal forms, including turtles, frogs, a lizard, a dove, a scorpion, a ladder, branches, etc. They have been found in various contexts: graves, private houses, and most frequently, in or near *mithraea*.[74] Insofar as the archaeological evidence is concerned, these vessels, when they serve a known cult purpose, are Mithraic, the snakes apparently assuming an apotropaic significance.[75]

The snake vessels from Cosa are the only ones found in a sanc-

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10) Fragments of vessel from La Loucherie at Tournai (Germaine Faider-Feytmans, "Cultes orientaux à Tournai à l'époque romaine? La main de Sabazios," *Bulletin de l'Institut du Patrimoine Artistique* 15 [1975] 132-133 and fig. 5).

11) Three-handled vessel from Unterbaar (Ulbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60, no. 2 and fig. 2).

12) Vęssel without handles from Veldidena, in Museum Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck (Karl Völkl, "Ein Schlangengefäss aus Veldidena," *JOAIBeibl* 38 [1950] 31-36).

In addition to these Friedrich Drexel, *Das Kastell Faimingen*, Der Obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches, no. 66c (Berlin 1911) 94, lists others from Lauriacum and Vienna.

[73] Swoboda (supra n. 69) 1-2. The Cosa snake vessels fit most closely Swoboda's Type 1 which is a *krater* with three handles, each of which terminates in a small bowl. Snakes wind around the body and up the handles. Other creatures are applied also to the walls. The type includes vessels from Augst and Vindonissa which, however, do not resemble the Cosa vessels very closely as to the shape of the body, the form of the handles, and the placement of the snakes on the handles. The Augst and Vindonissa vessels are much earlier in date, probably second century. The Cosa examples appear more similar to the *krater* from Isthmia, roughly contemporary with the ones from Cosa, although that vessel lacks the small bowl on the handle. A handle from Pettau (Poetovio) does resemble those from Cosa in every way; see Abramić (supra n. 72) fig. 107.

[74] Swoboda (supra n. 69) 1.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-17, 25. On the theory of Felix Staehelin (supra n. 71, pp. 551-556) that the non-Mithraic snake vessels belong to the cult of Sabazius, see below, p. 41 and n. 108.

tuary other than a *mithraeum*. Although some snake ware has not been found in a particular cult connection, available archaeological evidence does not readily explain their presence in a shrine of Dionysus. Likewise difficult to explain in a Bacchic context are the fragments of *kernos*-like vessels. In the final analysis it is possible that the Cosa material can be interpreted very simply as extending the cult use of these vessels to that of Dionysus as well as Mithras or Cybele.

This conclusion is, however, too simplistic in the face of the evidence analyzed thus far. In relation to the snake vessels each of the applied motives—snakes, bucranium, lizard, winged face, group of three women—should be considered with respect to its pertinence to a Bacchic environment. Only if they can be shown to have a Bacchic meaning in their own right could the snake vessels be considered applicable to a Bacchic setting.

Most prominent among these appliqués are the snakes, which do have a long association with Dionysus going back to Greek times. Snakehandling was practiced in certain Bacchic cults, most notably by Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.[76] The Bacchae in Euripides' play also handle snakes which they either wind in their hair or gird about themselves,[77] and maenads are represented in vase painting carrying a snake or wearing one in their hair.[78] Women in the Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria, described by Athenaeus, wore snakes in their hair,[79] and snakes were dismembered in a Bacchic festival mentioned by Galen.[80] This interest in snake handling is common to ecstatic cults in many cultures, but here it seems also to have much to do with the fact that Dionysus could appear in the form of a snake.[81] In Roman times the snake appears frequently in Bacchic contexts, particularly on sarcophagi where they figure in scenes of the *thiasos*,[82] of the Pentheus story,[83] and in connection with the *cista mystica*.[84]

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[76] Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.*, II; see J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch, Alexander, A Commentary* (Oxford 1969) 5-6. See also Demosthenes, *De cor.*, 260.

[77] Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 102-104 and 698; snakes are mentioned again in line 768. For snake handling in Bacchic orgia see also Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 19, Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.*, II, 12, 2, and Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.*, 6.

[78] As, for example, on two well-known vases: a red-figured pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, dated ca. 500-490 B.C. and in the white-ground interior of a red-figured cup by the Brygos Painter, dated ca. 490 B.C. Both are in Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst. For illustrations see P. E. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962) pls. 122-123 and XXXIV.

[79] Athenaeus, 5, 28. According to E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 281, n. 42, the women wore artificial snakes.

The *bucranium* (Cat. no. 64; Fig. 47), recalls the fact that Dionysus was worshipped in very early times in the form of a bull.[85] He could actually appear as a bull,[86] and continued to be worshipped in this guise in certain festivals in Greece well into the Roman period.[87] The bull is also one of the animals commonly sacrificed to Dionysus.[88] Furthermore, the sacred office of the βουκόλοι, or dancers, in the Dionysiac mysteries, which continued in existence down to the fourth century A.D. in Rome, preserves in its name a reference to the bull.[89]

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[80] Galen, *De Antidotis*, I, 8; see Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 39; *idem*, *GGR* 1², p. 579; and C. G. Kühn, ed., *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, vol. 14 (Leipzig 1827) 45.

[81] Euripides, *Bacchae*, line 1017. See also Nilsson, *GGR* 1², p. 571 and Dodds, *Greeks and Irrational* (supra n. 79) 275.

[82] In these scenes a satyr commonly holds snakes or extends one to a maenad; see Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, part 1, nos. 44 and 54A and part 3, no. 209.

[83] This is the story told in Euripides' *Bacchae*. For the sarcophagi see Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, part 3, pp. 404-415.

[84] The snake is regularly part of the contents of the *cista mystica*; on Bacchic sarcophagi it is represented crawling out of or near the basket. On the *cista mystica* see Fr. Lenormant, "*Cista mystica*," *DarSag* 1, 2 (1887) 1205-1208 and Mau, "*Cista*," *RE* 3 (1899) 2591-2593. Originally, it was not a part of the cult of Dionysus but was certainly absorbed into it by Roman times.

For other Bacchic monuments in which the snake appears, see Cumont, *Religions orientales* ⁴, pp. 308-309, n. 43. On the snake in general see Erich Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion*, Religiongeschichtliche Versuche und Verarbeiten, vol. 13, part 2 (Giessen 1913), especially pp. 118-119 on the snake in the cult of Dionysus.

[85] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 301; Franz Cumont, "La grande inscription bachique du Metropolitan Museum," *AJA* 37 (1933) 247.

[86] Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 100, 618-621, 920-922, 1017-1018, and 1159. See also Thraemer, "Dionysos," Roscher *Lexikon* 1, 1 (1884-1886) 1149-1151 and Nilsson, *GGR* 1², p. 571.

[87] Pausanias, VIII, 19, 2 (Arcadia); Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 36, 299b (Elis); Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 35 (Argos). Cf. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 301 and Nilsson, *GGR* 1², pp. 573-574.

[88] Voigt, "Dionysos," Roscher *Lexikon* 1, 1 (1884-1886) 1055-1059.

The appliqué in the form of a lizard (Cat. no. 72a; Fig. 60) poses more of a problem because the lizard is not purely Bacchic. In general, it has apotropaic and erotic connotations, and its cult associations are specifically with Sabazius, a divinity closely related to Dionysus.[90] On the Cosa snake vessel the lizard is probably simply apotropaic.[91]

The last two appliqués are rather crudely modeled so that it is difficult to interpret them precisely. No. 72b (Fig. 61) appears to represent a frontal face wearing a winged cap and resting on a pair of wings or an aegis. One might consider it a crude rendering of a *gorgoneion*, which is apotropaic; and *gorgoneia* do appear on Bacchic sarcophagi.[92] No. 72c (Fig. 62) represents three draped female figures standing on a base and supporting something (a basket?) on their heads. They might be interpreted as the three Graces or nymphs, who appear frequently in art clothed, but these do not support anything on their heads. Moreover, the composition does not represent the three as standing in a row. Instead, they are placed facing outward on a circular base, so that the woman on the right is seen in profile and the one on the left at an angle. In this arrangement the three recall the common form of the Hekataion, or the triple-bodied Hekate, in which three women, often wearing *poloi*, stand facing outward around a column which projects above their heads.[93] Although Hekate has no cult or mythic connections with Dionysus, she did enjoy some popularity within certain circles of the pagan elite in Rome in the fourth century. Many Roman aristocrats even served as priests in the cults of Hekate and Dionysus, although this practice is not necessarily indicative of a cult relationship between these two divinities.[94] Whether the worshippers of Dionysus at Cosa were aware of these things to the extent that a representation of Hekate would be meaningful to them in a special way is disputable and possibly unlikely. They may have considered the women quite simply as nymphs or even as the three Graces.[95]

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[89] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 300-301; Cumont, "La grande inscription," (supra n. 85) 247-249; Kern, "βουκόλοι," *RE* 3 (1899) 1013; and Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, pp. 55, 58-60.

[90] On the lizard and its various meanings, see Chr. Blinkenberg, *Archaeologische Studien* (Copenhagen 1904) 71-83; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol. 2: The Archaeological Evidence from the Diaspora (New York 1953) 238-239 with bibliography; Th. Hopfner, "Mysterien," *RE* 16, 2 (1935) 1336; Karl Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore 1942) 30 and nn. 60-61; A. D. Nock, "The Lizard in Magic and Religion," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, edited by Zeph Stewart (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) vol. 1, pp. 271-276 (= H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, eds., "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum," *ProcBritAc* 17 (1931) 274-279); W. O. E. Oesterley, "The Cult of Sabazios: A Study in Religious Syncretism," *The Labyrinth*, edited by S. H. Hooke (London 1935) 135; Schaefer, "Sabazios," *RE* series 2, 1 (1914) 1551; and Robert Turcan, "Dionysos Dimorphos: une illustration de la théologie de Bacchus dans l'art funéraire," *MélRome* 70 (1958) 279. Lizards occasionally appear on Bacchic sarcophagi, as, for example, Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, part 1, nos. 37 and 38; Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.*, figs. 7-8 and pp. 12-14; Turcan, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 254. On these the lizard is associated with Sabazius; see Lehmann-Hartleben, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and Turcan, *op. cit.*, p. 279. See further discussion below, pp. 42-43.

[91] This is also the meaning ascribed to the lizards, turtles, and frogs applied to the "Mithraic" snake vessels; see Swoboda (supra n. 69) 14-15 and Turcan (supra n. 90) 279. The lizard appears on a fragment of only one other snake vessel. This was found in a room of a private house in Pettau; see Abramić (supra n. 72) 123 and fig. 110.

[92] Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen (supra n. 90) 49-50.

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[93] On Hekataia see most recently E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, The Athenian Agora, vol. 11 (Princeton 1965) 86-107 and Theodor Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg 1960) 95-128, 153-165.

[94] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 261, 302; Cumont, *Religions orientales*,[4] p. 298, n. 14 and p. 312, n. 74; and Heckenbach, "Hekate," *RE* 7 (1912) 2781. The evidence for individuals serving as priests in the cults of Hekate and Dionysus in Rome is epigraphical; *CIL*, VI, 500, 504, 507, 510, 1675, and 31940. To these may be added an inscription published by B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi, and E. Kirschbaum, *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano*, vol. 1 (Vatican City 1951) 15, fig. 3, and another from Antium, Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, no. 206. The persons mentioned in these inscriptions were priests not only in the cults of Dionysus and Hekate but also in other cults both official and oriental. Among the oriental cults those of Mithra/Sol Invictus, the Magna Mater, and Isis are most frequently mentioned. The tendency for pagan aristocrats in Rome to serve as priests in several cults at once indicates more the scarcity of qualified persons willing to serve rather than any special religious amalgamation among the cults involved; see Herbert Bloch, "The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century," *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. by Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford 1963) 203. For an inscription from Imola in which a man was priest of Dionysus and Hekate only, see *CIL*, XI, 671.

In addition to evidence of this sort, a Hekataion has been found in a Bacchic building—the βακχεῖον of the Iobacchi in Athens. Its exact finding place in the building is not known, however, so that this Hekataion cannot prove that there was a relationship between Dionysus and Hekate there. See Kraus (supra n. 93) 170.

Although the majority of the appliqués can easily be interpreted as pertinent to a Bacchic cult, some cannot, particularly the lizard and the triple-bodied Hekate. Thus it remains difficult to associate these vessels iconographically with a cult of Dionysus.[96]

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[95] If the women in the appliqué were considered the three Graces, they are still not inappropriate to a Bacchic context. As goddesses of the fertility of nature their worship in Greece was often linked with that of other divinities, including Dionysus. In Roman religion they were not the object of a cult, but they have been found on Roman sarcophagi along with Bacchic figures. On the three Graces worshipped together with Dionysus see Pausanias V, 14, 10 and IX, 38,1; Pindar, *Ol.* XIII, 19; Pindar, *Scholia, Ol.* V, 10; and Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 36; also Escher, "Charites," *RE* 3 (1899) 2159; Gsell, "Gratiae," *DarSag* 2 (1896) 1659-1664; and Jeanne Roux, *Euripide: Les Bacchantes*, vol. 2, Commentary ,Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, vol. 21 (Paris 1972) 391. On the Roman sarcophagi see W. Deonna, "Le groupe des Trois Graces nues et sa descendance," *RA* 31 (1930) 280, no. 15; Giovanni Becatti, "Le Tre Grazie," *BullComm* 65 (1937) 46, n. 15 no. X; and G. Rodenwaldt, "The Three Graces on a Fluted Sarcophagus," *JRS* 28 (1938) 60-64.

[96] It might be interesting to consider the meaning of these motives in relation to Mithraism, since so many snake vessels have been found in or near *mithraea*. The snakes are probably apotropaic, as stated above, p. 32 and n. 75, despite the meaning of the snake on Mithraic cult reliefs as a symbol of the earth (Swoboda [supra n. 69] 7-8 and n. 12). The lizard is not in itself Mithraic. Although it does occur on a fragment of one other snake vessel (see above n. 91), this sherd was not found in a *mithraeum*. The other motives—the *bucranium*, the winged face, and the triple-bodied Hekate—have not been found on other snake vessels. The *bucranium* could easily recall the Mithraic bull. The winged face, or *gorgoneion*, is a reference to Minerva. Representations of Minerva have been found in many *mithraea* and there are several Mithraic inscriptions which also mention Minerva's name. (Representations: Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, nos. 291, 328, 441, 931 and vol. 2, nos. 1086, 1183, 1260, 1318, 2202. The following have not been found in *mithraea* but are associated with Mithras in other ways: Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, nos. 112, 330 and vol. 2, nos. 1284, 1430C1, and 2340, 4. Inscriptions: Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, nos. 140, 329, 331 and vol. 2, no. 1383.) She had a place, along with the other Olympian deities, in Mithraic doctrine (Franz Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, 3rd edition [Leipzig and Berlin 1923] 100). Hekate likewise occurs in Mithraic doctrine, as a goddess of the Underworld (*ibid.*, p. 101). Her images have also been found in *mithraea* and she, too, is mentioned in Mithraic inscriptions. (Representations: Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, nos. 84, 356, 486 and vol. 2, no. 1187. Inscriptions:

A SYNCRETISTIC CULT OF DIONYSUS AT COSA?

The shrine of Dionysus at Cosa presents thus far a paradox. Images of Dionysus and his inscribed name are gathered in one place with images or attributes of other gods: Hercules, Venus or Ariadne, Minerva. Mixed with pottery relevant to the worship of Dionysus appear ritual vessels normally, as far as we know, used in cults of Cybele and Mithras. The analysis of the non-Bacchic elements has produced conflicting results: Hercules, Minerva, and Ariadne—if one may take the two small heads to represent her rather than Venus—are closely associated with Dionysus mythologically. However, the fragments of *kernoi* and the snake vessels cannot so easily be made to fit into the worship of Dionysus. The explanation of the paradox can only lie in the late date of the shrine. The construction late in antiquity of a building suitable for drinking parties or banquets honoring Dionysus is clear from the bulk of the evidence. The procurement of crockery and lamps as needed for the shrine and probably also the gathering together of sculptural embellishments, including the cult image, of obviously earlier date, all occurred late in antiquity. The association with Dionysus of the other divinities can also be further illuminated by the late date.

With respect to religion the imperial period was a time of increasing syncretism, which grew especially strong during the late empire. This phenomenon can be defined at its simplest as a mingling together of different religions or gods, particularly on the cult level.[97] One might expect this to affect cults of Dionysus; and, in fact, there is much evidence linking him with such divinities as Isis and Osiris, Cybele, Mithra, the Syrian gods, and even Helios in the contemporary Neo-Platonic solar theology.[98] For example,

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Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, nos. 206, 360, and vol. 2, no. 395A. See also *idem*, *CIMRM* 1, no. 992). Thus, from the point of view of the applied motives, the snake vessels from Cosa appear more closely related iconographically to Mithraism than to the Dionysiac religion.

[97] On syncretism in ancient religion see H. J. Rose and H. W. Parke, "Syncretism," *OCD*, 2nd ed. (1970) 1029; Nilsson, *GGR* 1², 602; *idem*, *GGR* 2², 581 and 722; and Oesterley (supra n. 90) 115-118.

[98] A full treatment of Bacchus and syncretism during the Roman empire is in Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 249-267.

statuettes of Bacchus have been found in sanctuaries of Isis at Pompeii,[99] the Magna Mater at Ostia,[100] the Syrian gods on the Janiculum at Rome,[101] and Mithra in many places.[102] The opposite situation, however, in which other divinities have been found in a Bacchic context, is quite rare.[103] The one example known to me consists of a group of statuettes and two inscriptions found along the Via Cassia near Acquatraversa. The statuettes include three of Bacchus, one of Hercules, and one of an unidentified female figure whose legs are entwined by a snake. The inscriptions, which are dated to the third century, refer to a *sacrarium* of Liber Pater to which the statuettes belonged.[104] The female is unusual, even for a foreign divinity. She resembles Aion, a personification of time found frequently in *mithraea*, around whose body winds a snake, but she cannot be positively identified.[105] This figure may indicate that this cult of Dionysus was syncretistic.

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[99] *Ibid.*, p. 251 and V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris 1964) 33, 85. Tran Tam Tinh emphasizes, p. 85, that the presence of the statuette of Bacchus in the Iseum at Pompeii does not mean that Bacchus was identified with Serapis or Osiris but was merely associated with them.

[100] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 253.

[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

[102] L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, EPRO 11 (Leiden 1968) 215-217 and Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 1, no. 822 and vol. 2, nos. 1176 and 1210.

[103] In his discussion of Dionysus and syncretism Bruhl fails to make this point. This is important, because the evidence of statuettes of Dionysus found in sanctuaries of other gods does not indicate syncretistic cults of Dionysus, but rather that those other cults were syncretistic. Bruhl has indeed collected a mass of material of various types—archaeological, epigraphical, artistic, theological—to illustrate how syncretism affected the religion of Dionysus, but a close examination reveals that, in fact, very little of it actually indicates the existence of syncretistic cults of Dionysus. Most of it attests other syncretistic cults, or the religious thinking of individuals who worshipped different divinities, or, in the case of the late antique inscriptions found in the Vatican, a shortage of persons qualified to perform priestly functions in pagan cults (supra n. 94). In evaluating Bruhl's discussion, therefore, it must be borne in mind that its main usefulness is in demonstrating how worshippers of Dionysus fit into the syncretistic spirit of the time.

[104] Gatti (supra n. 61) 387-399 and Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 202-203, 252, 259.

[105] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 252 with bibliography. M. J. Vermaseren has very kindly informed me, by letter, that he considers her to be the Syrian

In the sculptural group from Cosa no such foreign divinities appear. The gods represented are purely Graeco-Roman and, although they are closely associated with Dionysus in myths, their presence need not indicate that they were worshipped along with Bacchus. It must also be emphasized, as stated already (above, p. 24), that the sculptural representations were not created especially for the shrine. They were executed much earlier. Thus the worshippers of Dionysus who met here were most likely not acquiring these sculptures according to a conscious master plan. In all probability the sculptures were "found objects," discovered at random about the site over who knows how long a period of time. Their selection was doubtlessly made mainly according to their Bacchic associations.

The question then becomes whether or not the cult of Dionysus at Cosa in the fourth to fifth centuries was a truly syncretistic one. The question rests not so much on the sculptured divinities found in the shrine as on the presence of the *kernoi* and the snake vessels. This group of objects, some of them decorated with different deities and attributes, constitutes the only exotic element among the finds. Although most of the decorations are applicable to a Bacchic cult, some are not, particularly the lizard, which is an attribute of Sabazius. This reference to Sabazius could be important, appearing as it does in a Bacchic context, because of the close relationship between Dionysus and Sabazius, both of whom were Thraco-Phrygian gods with mystery cults.[106] It opens

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goddess. See also M. J. Vermaseren, "A Magical Time God," *Mithraic Studies*, edited by John R. Hinnells, vol. 2 (Manchester 1975) 446-456, where further references regarding the Time god, Aion, may be found.

[106] On Sabazius see Blinkenberg (supra n. 90) 66-128; Cumont, *Religions orientales* ^{4}, pp. 45, 56-57, 60-61; *idem*, "Sabazius," *DarSag* 4, 2 (n.d.) 929-930; Eisele, "Sabazios," Roscher *Lexikon* 4 (1909-1915) 232-264; A. Gallina, "Sabazio," *EAA* 6 (1965) 1042-1044; Hugo Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (Berlin and Leipzig 1930) 110-123; M. Macrae, "Le culte de Sabazius en Dacie," *Dacia* 3 (1959) 325-339; Nilsson, *GGR* 1^2, pp. 566-567, 579-580, 581, 836; *idem*, *GGR* 2^2, pp. 658-666; Ch. Picard, "Sabazios, dieu thracophrygien: expansion et aspects nouveaux de son culte," *RA* (1961) part 2, pp. 129-176; Oesterley (supra n. 90) 115-158; and Shaefer (supra n. 90) 1540-1551. On the close connection between Dionysus and Sabazius in particular see in addition E. R. Dodds, "Maenadism in the Bacchae," *HThR* 33 (1940) 173-174;

the question of whether the cult of Dionysus at Cosa may have been a syncretistic cult of Dionysus-Sabazius. This question assumes greater importance with respect to the snake vessels, because the snake is also a creature of special significance in the cult of Sabazius,[107] and snake vessels not found in *mithraea* have even been attributed to Sabazius.

Felix Staehelin has proposed a theory that certain snake vessels are Sabazian rather than Mithraic. He bases his theory partly on the fact that such creatures as the snake, lizard, etc., which can be related to Sabazius, are present on these vessels.[108] It is tempting to consider the Cosa snake ware as evidence justifying this theory because of the close similarities between Sabazius and Dionysus and because up to now no snake ware has been found in a Sabazian context. The latter is a major weak point in Staehelin's theory. If the cult at Cosa can be shown to have been Sabazian, Staehelin's theory could indeed be justified.

Sabazius and Dionysus have been associated with each other since classical Greek times when the cult of Sabazius entered Athens. Both were essentially fertility gods and foreign to Greece. Their rites shared an orgiastic character, and certain Bacchic items, such as the fawnskin and the *liknon*, were used in Sabazian cere-

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Euripides, *Bacchae*, edited with introduction and commentary by E. R Dodds, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1960) xxiii, xxiv-xxv; Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen (supra n. 90) 22-33; Turcan, "Dionysos Dimorphos" (supra n. 90) 277-293; *idem, Les sarcophages romaines* (supra n. 53) 393, 433, 492-493, 498, 525 n. 7, 533 n. 7; and Jeanne Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes*, vol. 1, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, vol. 21 (Paris 1970) 30-33.

[107] Blinkenberg (supra n. 90) 106; Eisele (supra n. 106) 242-248, 252-253; Gressmann (supra n. 106) 114-115; Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, pp. 660-661; Oesterley (supra n. 90) 136, 143.

[108] Staehelin (supra n. 71) 551-556. His theory rests in part on the fact that a snake vessel was found at Vindonissa which was abandoned in 101, before the first securely dated evidence of Mithraism in the Western provinces occurs (an inscription dated to 148, *CIL*, XIII, 6477). Therefore, the snake vessel from Vindonissa cannot be Mithraic. Other scholars, however, dispute this; see Swoboda (supra n. 69) 17-19 and Ettlinger and Simonett (supra n. 71) 64. Staehelin's theory depends also on the resemblance that the vessels with various animal forms or objects attached to them have to the votive hands commonly considered Sabazian. These hands are covered with reliefs of various objects and animals sacred to Sabazius.

monies.[109] Worshippers of Sabazius also celebrated sacred meals,[110] and, by Roman times, believed in the salvation of the soul after death.[111] Their names are not linked in literary sources until the Hellenistic period.[112] The Hellenistic and Roman sources mention these two divinities in a variety of contexts, not all of which are relevant to the present discussion. However one, Diodorus (IV, 4), in discussing Dionysus, states that there was a second, older, Dionysus, born of Zeus and Persephone and called Sabazius by some. He says further (IV, 5) that this older Dionysus wore a long beard whereas the younger was beardless and rather effeminate. These passages can be related to the simultaneous appearance of both gods on certain Bacchic monuments, mainly sarcophagi, in Roman art.[113] On these monuments the youthful Dionysus is shown in the presence of an old, bearded man identified as the old Dionysus, or Sabazius, after the passages in Diodorus. This double appearance of the god is the "Dionysos dimorphos" of Diodorus about whom Robert Turcan has written extensively.[114] He has gathered further ancient sources relating these two deities and has analyzed the significance of the older Dionysus on these monuments, so that it is not necessary to go into detail here except to mention that the identification of the old man as Dionysus-Sabazius is corroborated on these monuments by the presence nearby of attributes of Sabazius, as, for example, the lizard.[115]

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[109] Nilsson, *GGR* 1^2, p. 836. The principal source for the Bacchic nature of the rites of Sabazius in classical times is Demosthenes, *De cor.*, 259-260. On Dionysus and Sabazius in Greek times see also Nilsson, *GGR* 1^2, pp. 566-567, 579-580, 581; *idem, GGR* 2^2, p. 658; Euripides, *Bacchae*, ed. Dodds (supra n. 106) xxiii; and Jeanmaire (supra n. 55) 94-97.

[110] Cumont, *Religions orientales* ^{4}, pp. 56-57, 61, 304 n. 3; and Oesterley (supra n. 90) 145-146, 153.

[111] Cumont, *Religions orientales* ^{4}, pp. 56-57, 61; Eisele (supra n. 106) 255; and Oesterley (supra n. 90) 148-157.

[112] Nilsson, *GGR* 1^2, p. 566 and n. 10 for the sources; see also *ibid.*, pp. 579-580 and n. 7 on p. 579 (Strabo, X, 15), and *idem, GGR* 2^2, pp. 660-661 and n. 5 on p. 660 (Diodorus, IV, 4). Other sources linking the names are: Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, IV, 6; Lydus, *Mens.*, IV, 51; and the Suda (formerly Suidas), s.v. Σαβάζιος. Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 18, 11, refers to a temple in Thrace of Sol and Liber. He obtained the details about this temple from Alexander Polyhistor. Although he states that the Thracians call Liber Sabazius, he does not say whether this god was worshipped by the Thracians as Dionysus-Sabazius. See further Picard (supra n. 90) 171 and Eisele (supra n. 106) 240.

Sabazius is not identified with Dionysus in inscriptions (Festugière [supra n. 19] 196).

[113] Turcan, "Dionysos Dimorphos," (supra n. 90) 277-293; *idem*, "Dionysos ancien et le sommeil infernal," *MélRome* 71 (1959) 287-300; *idem*, "Dionysiaca," *RA* (1961) part 1, pp. 159-163; *idem*, "Du nouveau sur l'initiation dionysiaque," *Latomus* 24 (1965) 101-119; *idem, Les sarcophages romaines* (supra n. 53) 393, 433, 492-93, 498, 525, 533 n. 7; and Friedrich Matz, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΚΗ ΤΕΛΕΤΗ: *Archäologische Untersuchungen zum Dionysoskult in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 15 (Wiesbaden 1964) 36-43. See also Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen (supra n. 90) 35-36.

Another group of Bacchic sarcophagi also exhibits Sabazian elements. These are the ones in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore published by K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen.[116] Lehmann-Hartleben has advanced the theory that the Sabazian elements on these sarcophagi, all of which belonged to one family, indicate that the family worshipped in a syncretistic cult of Dionysus-Sabazius.[117] This theory has been disputed by Nilsson,[118] and rightly so, since the presence of Sabazian elements on otherwise purely Bacchic monuments does not constitute compelling evidence for syncretistic worship.[119] Instead, all of these monuments indicate simply that the myth of Dionysos *dimorphos* was known and used in Bacchic circles in Roman times. Despite the various ways in which the two were linked in literature and art, they remained, as far as we know, separate gods with separate cults.[120]

The same argument can be applied to the snake vessels from Cosa and to their occurence in a Bacchic shrine. The presence of snakes and the lizard, as Sabazian elements, on snake vessels does not alone prove that snake ware is Sabazian. In ascribing these vessels to a particular cult the finding place is the crucial determining factor.[121] Since no snake vessels have been found in an unmistakably Sabazian context, those not found in *mithraea* cannot so easily be considered Sabazian. Thus, Staehelin's theory remains essentially unproven.[122] The Bacchic shrine likewise does not provide the Sabazian context necessary to prove Staehelin's theory simply because snake vessels were found there and because Dionysus and Sabazius were closely associated in Roman times. As shown above, the mythological association between the two deities, which resulted in the appearance of the two on the same Bacchic monuments in Roman times, does not necessarily indicate the existence of syncretistic cults of Dionysus-Sabazius. The shrine of Dionysus at Cosa thus contains no certain Sabazian elements. The only explanation for the presence of the snake vessels and the *kernoi* must lie in the syncretistic spirit of the time when the shrine was flourishing. Because of the nature of the evidence, the answer is somewhat hypothetical, but, at least for the snake vessels, they would have been used if no other vessels suitable for the purpose were available and if they were for the most part iconographically acceptable to the users.

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[114] See works cited above, n. 113.

[115] See the works by Turcan cited above, n. 113; for the lizard, see *idem*, "Dionysos Dimorphos," (supra n. 90) 251, 254, 279.

[116] Cited above, n. 90; these are dated in the second and early third centuries.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[118] *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 78, n. 16.

[119] R. Turcan and F. Matz, in their studies cited above, n. 113, never go so far as to consider that these monuments indicate the existence of syncretistic cults of Dionysus-Sabazius.

[120] Festugière (supra n. 19) 196.

Perhaps also pertinent to the problem of explaining the group of finds here is the religious situation in Cosa. The only pagan cult active at that time in opposition to—and therefore probably the object of increasing hostility from—the Christians was the group which worshipped Bacchus.[123] This situation may have caused the members of the Bacchic confraternity to be more inclined than ever to shelter under a sympathetic roof other pagan divinities, especially those with Bacchic associations.

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[121] Swoboda (supra n. 69) 25.

[122] It is probably true that snake vessels are not originally Mithraic, because some have been found in datable contexts at locations in the West where Mithraism had not yet penetrated. This is the case particularly at Pompeii where a few examples of snake vessels have been found; see Swoboda (supra n. 69) 2-3, 4 with bibliography. See also Staehelin (supra n. 71) 551-552 on the date of the snake ware from Vindonissa and the comments above, n. 108. However, one must await further archaeological evidence before confirming a Sabazian use for certain snake vessels.

[123] The Christian church was located not far from the Bacchic shrine; see above, p. 5. Mithraism survived at Cosa only until sometime in the fourth century when the *mithraeum* was completely disbanded; see above n. 43. The imperial cult centered in the Capitoleum on the arx had also long since been abandoned.

The shrine, or *stibadium,* of Dionysus at Cosa is thus an important document in the history of the paganism and of the worship of Dionysus at this late date. It is also one of a very small number of actual buildings dedicated to Bacchus and the only one whose cult paraphernalia have been preserved, providing valuable evidence for the nature of the ceremonies held there.

PART II

CATALOGUE OF THE FINDS

MARBLE SCULPTURE[1]

The marble sculptures found inside the shrine are all much earlier in date than the shrine's *floruit*. There can be no doubt that they were brought to the forum location from elsewhere. Although it is possible that there had been an earlier shrine of Liber somewhere else around Cosa from which the valuable paraphernalia were merely transferred, it is equally possible that the sculptures were looted from the ruins of houses in the town or from those of villas dotting the surrounding countryside. The latter possibility seems the more likely because many of the marbles are reliefs or pieces of decorative statuary which would be more at home in the context of a private dwelling. Furthermore, the relief depicting the attributes of Minerva, Cat. no. 7, is definitely out of place in a Bacchic context.

For the places inside the shrine where the sculptures were found, see above, pp. 14-15.

1. STANDING FIGURE OF BACCHUS. First century A.D. Fig. 22.

C68.25a, b. Statue (a) found with base (b). Statue: Pres. H. 1.115 m., L. mid-naval to sternal notch 0.272 m. Fine-grained white marble. Base: H. 0.09 m., W. 0.34 m., L. 0.44 m. Travertine.

Statue carved in one piece with oval plinth whose sides and bottom are rough-picked for insertion into base. Head, carved in one piece with body, missing. Missing also: both arms, carved separately and attached at shoulders by dowels, penis, and fragments above left ankle. A right hand of the same marble and found nearby probably belongs (Inv. no. C68.23, Max. Pres. L. 0.117 m., W. across knuckles 0.069 m.). It was attached to lower arm above wrist by dowel; fingers broken away.

The statue represents a youthful, slender Bacchus identified by its lithe proportions, graceful stance, and by the vine stalk on the tree-stump support by its right leg. The graceful swinging stance is that which is associated with the style of Praxiteles. The weight is placed on the right leg. The lowered right shoulder suggests a lowered right arm; the raised left shoulder, a raised left arm. The head apparently turned to its left, as the taut sternal tendons indicate, thus interrupting the rhythm of the S-curve running through the body in a manner common in later fourth century B.C. statuary (as, for example, the Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles and the Meleager by Skopas).

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[1] The marble sculptures from Cosa formed the subject of my doctoral dissertation submitted to Columbia University in 1970; it will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*. The following eight entries have been excerpted from the dissertation.

Statues of this general type are frequent among Roman copies representing the young Bacchus leaning on a thyrsus grasped with the raised left hand and holding a *kantharos* with the lowered right. Camillo Praschniker has made a study of this general type [2] in which all the numerous examples he has collected show that the head of the type turns to its right, whereas that of the Cosa Bacchus turns to its left. Not having discovered an exact prototype for such a Bacchus looking to its left, we would appear to be dealing here with a new creation by the Roman copyist who combined a body in the stance of Praschniker's type with a leftward turn of the head.

The Cosa copy was probably executed in the earlier part of the first century A.D., for the quality of the workmanship is quite high. We do not know its original function—perhaps it was a garden statue—but in the context of the shrine, considering its finding place near the back wall behind the altar, it must have served as the cult statue (see above, p. 14).

2. FEMALE HEAD, PERHAPS VENUS. First century A.D. Fig. 23.

C67.402. H. 0.111 m., H. chin to crown 0.109 m. Coarse-grained white marble.

Broken off through neck just below chin.

This small female head follows a fourth century B.C. conception, especially in the shape of the face, the hairdo, and the soft modeling which are particularly Praxitelean. The oval shaped face has a triangular forehead; the eyes are deeply set into their sockets, particularly at the inner corners. The hair, parted in the middle, puffs out from the temples and cheeks. It is gathered into a bun set low on the back of the head leaving the neck bare.

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[2] Camillo Praschniker, *Der Baderbezirk von Virunum* (Vienna 1947) 68-69, n. 30-33.

One cannot be certain that the statuette to which this head originally belonged was necessarily Venus, for such a head would be equally suitable for a wide variety of women besides Venus, such as Diana, Ariadne, even Muses or Nymphs. It was probably made in the first century A.D. as the competent and delicate workmanship indicates.

3. FEMALE BUST. First century A.D. Fig. 24.

C67.403. H. 0.143, m., H. chin to top of forehead 0.069 m. Coarse-grained white marble.

Nose chipped off.

Made to fit into statuette of draped woman; dowel hole for attachment preserved at center front. Joint concealed by drapery, some of which may be seen on her right shoulder (her left shoulder is bare). Right arm and top of head attached separately.[3]

The bust shows a young woman whose long hair is drawn from her face in broad, soft masses and gathered at the back of the neck so that the ends fall down her back in roughly blocked-out locks. Her oval face has a triangular forehead, her eyes are deeply set and indistinctly rendered, and her long neck has two "Venus rings" or rolls of fat.

The surface modeling, a good example of that "*morbidezza*" in which all edges are smoothed, even blurred, as in the eyes, and the "impressionistic" treatment of the hair in easy masses are both features which go back to a sculptural style particularly characteristic of the Alexandrian school of Hellenistic art in the third and second centuries B.C.[4] The fresh and firm modeling of the

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[3] Cf. the head of a girl from Chios in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which was made for insertion into a draped statue in a very similar way; L. D. Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*: *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass. 1925) 71, no. 29; John Marshall, "Head of a Goddess from Chios," in *Antike Denkmaler*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1908) 10-11 and pl. 59; also Reinhard Lullies and Max Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, rev. and enlarged ed. (New York 1960) pls. 242-243 and p. 97.

[4] See A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e momenti de scultura alessandrina*, Documenti e richerche d'arte alessandria, vol. 2 (Rome 1948) and W. Ame-

Cosa bust, its melting eyes, and the individuality of the hair-style which lacks the expected knot on the back of the head—all seem to indicate that this piece is not a slavish copy but a free rendering, probably of the time of the early Empire, in that soft manner associated with the Alexandrian style.

4. MONOPOD TABLE SUPPORT IN THE FORM OF A HERM OF DIONYSUS. First century A.D. Fig. 25.

C68.10. H. 0.825 m., W. between ends of arm-bars 0.248 m., W. of shaft 0.135 m., Th. of shaft 0.11 m. Coarse-grained white marble.

This bearded head of Dionysus is carved in one piece with its shaft. The front of the shaft is plain with no sign of an attachment for a phallus. At the level of the shoulders are short arm-bars. Behind the shaft and the herm's head is a flange, narrower than the width of the shaft. In the upper surface of the flange is a dowel-hole for securing something above. At the foot of the shaft is a rough-picked tenon for insertion into a base. This type of support follows the form for monopod table-supports such as are found in Pompeii and Herculaneum as well as in the Greek Hellenistic world. A capital-like member probably fit onto the top and itself supported a marble table-leaf.[5]

The herm's head turns slightly to it left. The low triangular forehead surmounts sharply defined brows, deeply set eyes, a long thin nose, and a partially opened mouth. The hairdo is so complex and decorative as to warrant a detailed description here. The hair waves forward from the back of the head in shallowly chiseled locks; there is no part. These locks terminate over the forehead in a fringe of tiny curls with drilled centers, not arranged in rows. A thick twisted fillet, possibly the *struppus*,[6] holds the hair in

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lung, "Dell'arte alessandrina, a proposito di due teste rinvenute in Roma," *BullComm* 25 (1897) 110-142.

[5] For further bibliography on *monopodia* with supports in the form of herms see W. Deonna, *Le Mobilier délien*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, fasc. 18 (Paris 1938) 36, n. 3.

[6] For the *struppus* (or *stroppus*, Greek στρόφιον) see E. Saglio, "*struppus*," *DarSag* 4, 2 (n.d.) 1546 and *idem*, "*strophium*," *DarSag* 4, 2 (n.d.) 1536; Bieber, "*strophium*," *RE*, series 2, 4 (1931) 380-381.

place. Beneath the fringe of curls emerges the longer forehead hair, combed to each side in two broad masses from an invisible central part. These long strands pass under the fillet and are twisted up to form a round puff behind the fillet before returning under it. The ends hang in bunches of small curls, rendered exactly as the forehead curls, in front of the ears. A long *taenia* is looped over the fillet behind the ears on both sides and hangs folded on the arm-bars. The long hair at the back is carved in relief on either side of the flange. It loops up at the bottom where it is tied so that the ends flip out in tiny curls, again with drilled centers like those around the face.

The beard is carved free from the neck and chest. The long wavy locks, rendered in low relief, are arranged essentially in two rows of which the upper includes the ends of the drooping mustache and two locks under the lower lip. The ends of all the locks are curled in different directions, each containing a lightly drilled center.

The hairdo is a highly decorative elaboration based on a combination of archaistic and early classical hair styles.[7] The quality of the execution is very fine, the forms are clear and well articulated, and the slight turn of the head adds life to the whole design which is already rich in coloristic contrast and textures. The marble must have been imported, perhaps even as a finished product, since such finely executed herms carved from a monolith of white marble are rare in Pompeii.

5. Bust of Hercules. Early first century A.D. Fig. 26.

C68.32. H. 0.192 m., H. chin to crown 0.138 m. Pink and white brecciated marble (*pavonazzetto*).

Base with tips of fillet, most of proper right half of beard, most of lower lip, and tip of nose broken away.

This small head, broken from a terminal bust, has a smooth-cut back and proper lower right side.[8] The head with its square blocky face, short hair, and short bushy beard represents Hercules wearing the *struppus* into which three vine leaves are inserted.[9] The type of the head goes back ultimately to a fourth century B.C. Lysippean prototype, for it resembles, in a re-elaborated miniature form, two colossal heads in the Sparta and Taranto museums, neither of which, however, wears a fillet.[10] The vine leaves stuck into the fillet of the Cosa herm could have been an addition of the Neo-Attic craftsman who was called upon to adapt the general type to a more decorative function.[11] The process of miniaturization has caused necessary simplifications, for the conception is flat and the face squared. It has, however, preserved the essential quality of realism so characteristic of Lysippos' later work. The workmanship is of high quality both in the modeling and handling of forms and in the way in which the composition is planned to utilize a plain white area of the marble block for the face.

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[7] On the combination of these two hair styles in beardless heads see Harrison (supra Part I, n. 93) 137-138. The addition of a combination hairdo to a bearded head, as in the Cosa herm, must be a modification of the Roman craftsman.

[8] These busts frequently occur raised on columns in peristyles or gardens in Pompeiian houses, as in the House of the Vettii or the House of the Golden

6. Base of fluted pedestal for basin or table. First century A.D. Fig. 27.

C68.24a-c. Diam. 0.38 m., Max. Pres. H. 0.072 m. Fine-grained greyish marble.

Only two of the three fragments join. They form two parts of the rim of the foot of a fluted columnar pedestal of a type which normally supports a basin. The type is a common one.[12]

Cupids, or attached to monopod table-supports. The terminal bust form is no doubt a cut-down version of a full-length herm or even of a monolithic monopod table-support such as Cat. no. 4. These little herms are very popular as Roman decorative sculpture.

[9] See above n. 6 for the *struppus*.

[10] On these two heads see José Dörig, "Lysipps letztes Werk," *JdI* 72 (1957) 39-43 and figs. 17-21. On the head in Taranto see also Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed. (New York 1961) 35 and fig. 83. These heads are related to the heads of the famous Herakles Epitrapezios and the Herakles Farnese, both by Lysippos. On the Herakles Epitrapezios see Visscher (supra Part I, n. 48) 67-129.

[11] On Herakles wearing the vine wreath see especially Wakeley and Ridgway (supra Part I, n. 46) 157-159. For Herakles the wreath of grape leaves becomes almost another attribute, and its Dionysiac associations are in keeping both with the Bacchic connotations of small decorative busts, such as the Cosa one, and with the convivial nature of Herakles Epitrapezios.

[12] For examples from Pompeii and their Greek antecedents see Erich

7. PANEL WITH RELIEF DEPICTING ATTRIBUTES OF MINERVA INSIDE MOLDED FRAME. First century A.D. Fig. 28.

C68.118. Max. Pres. H. 0.378 m., Max. Pres. L. 0.445 m., Max. Pres. D. 0.115 m., Interior H. of panel 0.308 m., Interior W. of panel 0.23 m., Max. H. of relief 0.02 m. Fine-grained white marble containing grey veins.

Intact except for lopping off of upper right corner, presumably for later reuse. Large chip in upper molding; snake's head broken away from lower right corner of aegis; chips in brim of helmet.

Slab smooth-cut on top, bottom, and left sides. Roughly worked right side damaged at later time. Back very roughly worked. At bottom of left side, in center, a rectangular dowel hole to which pieces of iron still adhere. A break extends backward from back side of this cutting, perhaps indicating that dowel hole was originally L-shaped for attaching slab not only to adjacent one and one below but also to interior core which slab faced.

The rectangular slab has an inset framed relief on the left and a plain surface on the right. The relief is framed by a plain cyma reversa molding. Inside the frame the attributes of Minerva are displayed as in a still-life. In the middle is a scalloped rectangular aegis with seven snakes and a *gorgoneion*. Below the aegis is a small round shield, resembling the *parma*, on which appears a *gorgoneion*. In the lower right corner on the tip of a spear sits the owl. The tips of three more spears shoot from behind the assemblage into the other three corners. A crested helmet, vaguely resembling the Corinthian helmet, surmounts the composition. The helmet is decorated on the side with a small ram's head, the zodiacal sign whose corresponding deity is Athena/Minerva.[13]

The form of this slab with its framed relief on one side of a plain surface is unusual, and I have found no parallels for it. However, simple panels with framed compositions alone are common enough, serving to ornament architectural revetments or decorative

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Pernice, *Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen, Beckenuntersätze, Altäre und Truhen*, Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji, vol. 5 (Berlin 1932) 38-54, pls. 24-34, with bibliography. See also Deonna (supra n. 5) 48-53 for the Delian group.

[13] Fr. Cumont, "Zodiacus," *DarSag* 5 (1912-1917) 1056.

objects. The Cosa slab, roughly worked on the back, served originally as a revetment for an unknown structure.

8. FRAGMENT OF REVETMENT DEPICTING PLANE LEAVES. Augustan. Fig. 29.

C68.22. Max. Pres. L. 0.211 m., Max. Pres. W. 0.082 m., Th. of plate 0.028 m., Max. H. of relief 0.015 m. Fine-grained white marble.

Broken on three sides. The four plane-tree leaves are rather schematically rendered. The back of the fragment is smooth-cut; one side is worked flat and contains a small hole for joining to another slab.

Though simplified the leaves are very close to those on an altar in the Terme Museum in Rome which depicts a *bucranium* and crossing plane-tree branches on all four sides.[14] This has been considered Augustan in date,[15] as may also be the Cosa fragment.

INSCRIPTION

9. INSCRIBED SUPPORT. Second century A.D. Fig. 30.

C68.40. H. 0.583 m., W. 0.139 m., Max. Th. 0.152 m., W. of flange 0.103 m., Th. of flange 0.059 m. Fine-grained white marble with grey veins.

For finding place see above, p. 15.

Heavily battered and broken into many fragments. All sides finished smooth. Smooth-picked top contains remains of two lead dowels. At bottom are two rectangular grooves, one on each side, for securing support to base.

The support takes a form commonly used for tables; cf. Cat. no. 4 above. The object originally supported was secured by the dowels whose remains are still imbedded in the upper surface. The inscription appears on the upper third of the front face.

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[14] See Roberto Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome 1928) 264, no. 804, illustrated on p. 265.

[15] H. C. Bowerman, *Roman Sacrificial Altars* (Lancaster 1913) 53-54, no. 73.

Ḷibero
Zoe
Mater
D(onum) P(osuit)

Heights of letters: line 1 0.026-0.029 m.
lines 2-3 0.022-0.026 m.
line 4 0.027 m.

The gift mentioned in this dedicatory inscription was doubtlessly the object attached to the top. Zoe, the name of the donor, is Greek; it was not uncommon for members of Bacchic mystery cults to omit their *gentilicia*, but she may have been a slave or freedwoman. *Mater* is used here as an honorary title. As it does not have any further qualifying term such as "*sacrorum*" or "*collegii*" commonly found in inscriptions, "*mater*" would seem to be a title conferred upon an especially worthy female member or initiate of the cult.

On the use of the cognomen alone, see especially the Agrippinilla base in the Metropolitan Museum of Art published by Achille Vogliano and Franz Cumont in separate articles in *AJA* 37 (1933) 215-263. On the word *mater* see J.-P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident*, vol. 1 (Louvain 1895) 425-448, and especially p. 524, n. 3; see also A. Bodor, "Der Liber- und Libera-Kult," *Dacia, Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne*, n.s. 7 (1963) 233 and *ThLL*, s.v. "*mater*", col. 439.

The original context of the inscription is unknown as it, like the marble sculptures, was brought into the shrine from elsewhere. A date in the second century A.D. is more likely for the inscription, in contrast to the first century dating of the marble sculptures. This is based on the rising popularity of Bacchic cults in Italy in the second century A.D.,[16] and on the fact that many wealthy villas were existing in the neighborhood of Cosa at that time.

ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS

These number only three and all were executed during the Republican period. The most important is the column capital (Cat.

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[16] Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, pp. 164-166.

no. 10) for it was reused as a stand, perhaps for the coin-box of the shrine, since so many of the coins were found in its vicinity; see above pp. 14, 15. The two architectural terracottas have been assigned to the construction of the later interior walls; see above, p. 14. They would not have belonged to the shrine's roof, since they are isolated examples and do not compare with other architectural terracottas from the forum.

10. "DORIC" COLUMN CAPITAL. Republican, second century B.C. Fig. 31.

C68.176. Total H. 0.24 m., H. of abacus 0.07 m., H. of echinus 0.04 m., H. of shaft 0.11 m., Diam. of shaft 0.365 m.; abacus: 0.47 x 0.467 x 0.463 x 0.447 m. Travertine.

Chipped; traces of mortar on underside of shaft.

The abacus, the narrow and flat echinus, the necking, and the upper portion of the shaft are carved all in one piece. The height of the shaft below the necking is equal to the combined heights of the abacus and echinus. The shaft is plain. The necking consists of a cymatium and two annulets. In the center of the shaft there is a square turning hole, 0.045 m. on a side and 0.036 m. deep. The upper surface of the abacus also has a square turning hole 0.045 m. on a side and 0.073 m. deep. In one side of the abacus there is a cutting with slanting sides, 0.028 m. deep. This capital is too small to have been part of the forum portico, nor does its profile match that of other capitals of the same size from Cosa.

11. SHELL ANTEFIX WITH SMALL FEMALE HEAD. Republican, third century B.C. Fig. 32.

C.68.42. H. as preserved 0.103 m., W. at bottom 0.166 m., Max. Th. as preserved 0.093 m. front to back. Terracotta. Clay is pink in color and grogged with red pozzolana and black sea sand; it includes also tiny pieces of lime.

Upper half of antefix broken away; battered and chipped; heavily encrusted with lime; root marks.

Only the base of the antefix is preserved. It takes the form of the bust of a woman wearing a *chiton* fastened at the shoulders with a large round brooch or button. The folds of her dress form a "V" between prominent breasts. Above the shoulders are the battered remains of long wavy locks of hair near the neck and the stumps of the framing shell. Traces of purple appear on the dress. Crudely rendered.

This fragment closely resembles a group of fragmentary antefixes from the Arx at Cosa representing a small female head framed in a shell. Particularly noteworthy is the base of one of these which shows the figure to just below the breasts (Inv. no. CC 138). See F. E. Brown, E. H. Richardson, and L. Richardson, Jr., *Cosa II: The Temples of the Arx,* MAAR 26 (1960) (hereafter *Cosa II*) 284-286: Miscellaneous architectural terracottas from the Arx, no. 1 and pl. 50, Fig. 1. Dated in the third century B.C.

12. WATER SPOUT IN FORM OF LION'S HEAD. Republican, second-first centuries B.C. Fig. 33.

C68.149. As preserved: Max. L. 0.142 m., Max. H. 0.097 m., Max. W. 0.085 m. Terracotta. Clay is buff to brown in color with a coarse grog of red pozzolana, sand, mica, and pieces of lime. Fired hard. Traces of white priming coat.

Lower half of spout behind lion's head and opening through mouth broken away; very battered and chipped; patches of lime encrustation.

The lion's head, framed by its mane, is very crudely modeled. Well preserved are its right eye deeply set under a bulging brow, portions of its left cheek, and the left side of its mouth.

The fabric compares with that used in the first repair of the second period of decoration for the pierced cresting of the Capitolium dating ca. 120 B.C. See *Cosa II,* p. 234. The only other comparable rainspout found at Cosa is one from a Republican house (Inv. no. C72.4), but it is of a different fabric.

LAMPS

A large quantity of late Roman lamps was found in the shrine. These can be divided into four main categories: African lamps, copies of African lamps, lamps belonging to Broneer's Type XXVIII, and miscellaneous late lamps which do not fit the above categories. Belonging to lamps of earlier types are fragments of a Factory lamp and an Alpha Globule lamp. On the finding places of the lamps inside the shrine see above, p. 15.

This series of late Roman lamps is important archaeologically, for the coins also found in the shrine provide valuable external dating evidence which corroborates particularly the dating by J. W. Hayes of the African lamps, so few of which have been found in dated contexts.[17] The bulk of the coins belongs to the fourth century, the earliest minted in 317. Of a total of fifty classifiable coins, thirty-eight belong to the second half of the fourth century, four between 383 and 408, and four to the fifth century. Thus the lamps fall securely within the fourth and fifth centuries.

African Lamps

The African lamps may be divided into two types, according to the most recent discussions of these lamps: Salomonson Type k,[18] and Hayes Type IB.[19] The first, Salomonson Type k, is represented by one lamp. The type is the earliest of the African series in that it belongs to the second half of the third or first half of the fourth century.[20] This is a large lamp made of rather coarse red clay; it has a low base-ring, a nozzle with a channel between the wickhole and discus, a flat rim decorated with concentric raised rings alternating with furrows; the discus contains a raised decoration.

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[17] J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London 1972) 313. It is significant that no African lamps of his earlier Type IA, dated in the early fourth century or earlier, have been found in the shrine, also that none of his later Type II lamps, dated in the fifth century, were found. The chronological distribution of African lamps from the shrine matches very well that of the coins, in that the bulk of the African lamps also belongs to the later fourth and early fifth centuries. On the coins from the shrine see further above pp. 15-16.

Abbreviations special to this section:

Broneer: Oscar Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, Corinth, vol. 4, part 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1930).

Graziani Abbiani: M. Graziani Abbiani, *Lucerne fittili paleocristiane nell'Italia settentrionale*, Studi di Antichità Christiane, 6 (Bologna 1969).

Hayes: (cited above).

Iványi: Dóra Iványi, *Die pannonischen Lampen: eine typologisch-chronologische Übersicht*, Dissertations Pannonicae, series 2, no. 2 (Budapest 1935).

Menzel (1969): Heinz Menzel, *Antike Lampen im Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz*, 2nd ed. (Mainz 1969).

Salomonson: J. W. Salomonson, "Études sur la céramique romaine d'Afrique: sigillée claire et céramique commune de Henchir el Ouiba (Raqqada) en Tunisie centrale," *BABesch* 43 (1968) 80-145.

[18] Salomonson, pp. 87-88.

[19] Hayes, pp. 310-314. See also Elda Joly, *Lucerne del Museo di Sabratha*, Monographie di Archeologia Libica, vol. 11 (Rome 1974) 44-46, who follows the classification of Hayes.

Hayes Type IB,[21] represented by ten lamps, has an ovoid shape with an elongated nozzle and an unperforated stump handle that sometimes has pinched sides and always bears a central groove. The rim is narrow and sloping; the large, round discus contains relief decoration and one or two filling-holes. Between the discus and wickhole there is a short channel with a raised border. The underside may be concave or flat and has grooves below the handle. The clay is fine-grained, red-orange in color, and covered with a self slip. This type is dated by Hayes to the fourth and early fifth centuries.[22]

13. Salomonson Type k. First half fourth century. Fig. 35.

C68.126. Intact; chipped; encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.115, W. 0.084, H. 0.049 m.

Hard, fine-grained, brick red clay containing a few particles of lime; self slip.

Round body, short nozzle, and plain stump-handle which projects behind the body. Rim decorated with three concentric furrows separated by ridges. Discus: bird or possibly sheep; two filling-holes placed diagonally. Underside: inside base-ring an incised "X". Bottom of handle continues in relief to base, tapering to a point.

A very similar lamp, decorated with a sheep on the discus, is illustrated in Salomonson, fig. 2, no. 3 and fig. 6, no. 3. See also Menzel (1969) no. 756 and fig. 142.

14. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century. Fig. 34.

C68.111. Incomplete; encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.113, W. 0.075, H. 0.052 m.

Rim: impressed herringbone. Discus: shell; one filling-hole. Concave base with grooves below handle.

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[20] Salomonson, p. 88.

[21] Hayes, pp. 310-311; Joly (supra n. 19) 45.

[22] Hayes, p. 313.

15. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century.

C68.113. Intact; cracked; surface worn and encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.123, W. 0.084, H. 0.057 m.

Clay coarser than usual, cf. Cat. nos. 20 and 23.

Rim: impressed hatched triangles. Discus: human figure (?) or running animal (?); two filling-holes. Concave base with grooves and impressed dots below handle; for decoration on base cf. Cat. no. 20.

For another example with a similar rim decoration, see Iványi, no. 983 and pl. XL, no. 2. For other lamps with a similar decoration on the base see Menzel (1969) no. 612 and fig. 79, no. 1 and Michel Ponsich, *Les lampes romaines en terre cuite de la Maurétanie tingitane*, Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc, fasc. 15 (Rabat 1961) no. 380 and pl. XXXII.

16. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century. Fig. 34.

C68.116. Intact; encrusted; burning on nozzle.

L. 0.112, W. 0.077, H. 0.052 m.

Rim: impressed herringbone. Discus: fanciful *kantharos*; two filling-holes. Front of handle has impressed dash flanking central groove. Concave base with grooves just below handle.

17. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century.

C68.122. Incomplete, part of nozzle and base missing; encrusted; burning on nozzle.

L. as preserved 0.093, W. 0.07, H. 0.048 m.

Rim: crudely impressed herringbone. Discus: rooster; two filling-holes. Handle taller and more pinched than usual and has impressed dash flanking groove at front. Concave base with grooves below handle.

18. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century. Fig. 34.

C68.125. Nozzle missing; encrusted.

L. as preserved 0.09, W. 0.075, H. 0.049 m.

Clay soft, misfired brown to brownish black; slip of the same color.

Rim: impressed hatchings. Discus: horse running right; two filling-holes. Front of handle has impressed dash flanking central groove. Underside: low base-ring inside which an incised palm branch; two ridges extend toward handle; base and ridges edged with grooves.

Cf. Cosa lamps Inv. nos. CG 284 found in the Mithraeum and CG 287 found near the Mithraeum. They closely resemble this one, especially in the decoration of the underside. They exhibit the usual clay color and consistency. See also Graziani' Abbiani, no. 390; Joly (supra n. 19) no. 1033 and pl. XLVI; and Giovanna Scrofani, "Nuove testimonianze archeologiche dal territorio di S. Croce Camerina," *Sicilia Archeologica* 5, no. 18-20 (1972) 110, fig. 13c.

19. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century.

C68.127. Intact; very worn and pitted; encrusted; burning on nozzle.

L. 0.12, W. 0.078, H. 0.049 m.

Rim: impressed hatchings or herringbone, very worn. Discus: decoration too worn to distinguish; two filling-holes. Underside: low base-ring and two ridges extending from base to handle.

20. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century. Fig. 34.

C68.131. Intact; encrusted.

L. 0.118, W. 0.084, H. 0.059 m.

Clay coarser than usual, cf. Cat. nos. 15 and 23.

Rim: impressed hatchings. Discus: eight-petaled rosette with single central filling-hole. Inside concave base is an impressed decoration consisting of two widely spaced parallel lines with a row of short hatchings to the outer sides; grooves and impressed dots appear below handle, cf. Cat. no. 15.

The rosette decoration on the discus is fairly common; for lamps with the same discus and rim decoration see Francisco Alvarez-Ossorio, "Lucernas o lamparas antiguas, de Barro Cocido, del Museo Arqueologico Nacional," *Archivo Español de Arqueologia* 15 (1942) 285, no. 13.876 and fig. 5, no. 12; Broneer, no 1451 and pl. XXI; and Graziani Abbiani, no. 134. See Cat. no. 15 for other examples of lamps with similar grooves and dots on the underside.

21. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century.

C68.682. Fragmentary; encrusted.

L. as preserved 0.081, W. 0.079, H. 0.049 m.

Rim: impressed hatchings. Discus: fish (?); one off-centered filling-hole is preserved. Plain concave base without grooves.

22. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century. Fig. 35.

C68.130. Intact; encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.116, W. 0.078, H. 0.055 m.

Clay coral in color.

Discus: square, surrounded by ridge and design of impressed lines with small shell motif on each side; single filling-hole in center. Handle has impressed dashes at front. Bordering handle, a row of raised saw-tooth design. Concave base with impressed circle in center; grooves below handle and around base.

For a very similar lamp from Sabratha, see Joly (supra n. 19) no. 1032 and pl. XLVI.

23. Hayes Type IB. Fourth-early fifth century. Fig. 35.

C68.112. Intact; encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.109, W. 0.074, H. 0.046 m.

Clay hard, coarser than usual, coral in color; slip a somewhat darker coral.

Flat-topped. Discus: square, surrounded by double ridge opening into channel toward wickhole; one filling-hole. Rim: radiating tongues. Handle as Cat. no. 22. Concave base with grooves below handle and around concavity.

For lamps with the same decoration on the top see Graziani Abbiani, no. 160 and Iványi, no. 1174 and pl. XLVI, fig. 14. For a similar lamp with a square discus but no decoration on the rim, see Ponsich (supra Cat. no. 15) no. 379 and pl. XXVIII.

Copies of African Lamps [23]

These lamps exhibit the forms and decorations characteristic of the African lamps of Hayes Type I, yet they are much more crudely made of an entirely different clay than the African series. They are ovoid and have the usual decorations on discus and rim. The decorations are all raised. In the discus there are two filling-holes. The stumphandles are pinched and pierced; they lack a central groove; and they may or may not project beyond the edge of the body. The underside has a low base-ring which sometimes extends ridges toward the handle. Occasionally there are other decorations on the base. The clay closely resembles that of the cups and jugs from the shrine described below (Fabric A, pp. 71-72): soft though sometimes medium-hard with a soft surface and fine in texture. In the lamps there is a tendency for the clay to splinter and flake. The color varies from orange-buff to buff and sometimes shows a misfired grey in places. The slip, also resembling that of the cups and jugs, varies in color from orange to brownish orange to brown; it has a matt finish. It is applied unevenly to both inside and outside and is most often completely worn away.

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[23] Copies or imitations of African lamps were made locally in many places throughout the Roman Empire and can be distinguished mainly by their clay and slip. On these see Graziani Abbiani, p. 14 and Joly (supra

These lamps can be divided into two groups. The first contains larger and fatter lamps; the second, smaller and more slender ones. Since they imitate most closely the lamps of Hayes Type I, it seems logical to consider them later, that is, essentially fifth century in date.

24. Group 1. Fifth century.

C68.109. Fragmentary, preserves only handle-half of top and most of base.

As preserved: L. 0.082, W. 0.071 m.; H. complete 0.063 m.

Clay orange-buff and medium hard; slip orange to brownish orange.

Rim: herringbone. Discus: as Cat. no. 25, only upper portion of which is preserved. Underside: base-ring with ridges; in center of base-ring a small raised circle.

25. Group 1. Fifth century. Fig. 36.

C68.681. Fragmentary, preserves most of upper half; encrusted; flaking; burning by wickhole.

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n. 19) 45. See also Broneer, pp. 121-122, Type XXXIII and F. O. Waagé, "Lamps," *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, vol. 3, edited by Richard Stillwell (Princeton 1941) 67, Type 54c.

As preserved: L. 0.111, W. 0.077 m.; H. complete 0.045 m.
Clay buff, misfired grey in places, soft; slip orange.
Rim: herringbone. Discus: pomegranate below palm branch.

26. Group 1. Fifth century.

C68.110. Intact; heavily encrusted; very worn.
L. 0.11, W. 0.074, H. 0.051 m.
Clay buff, soft; slip brownish orange.
Decoration on rim and discus worn away. Handle projects beyond edge of body. Underside: imprecise base-ring with ridges.

27. Group 1. Fifth century.

C68.154. Almost complete, nozzle and part of left side broken away; heavily encrusted.
L. as preserved 0.09, W. 0.069, H. 0.049 m.
Clay orange-buff, medium hard; traces of dull orange slip.
Rim: hatchings. Discus: running animal, very worn. Handle projects beyond edge of body. Underside: base-ring only.

28. Group 1. Fifth century.

C68.674. Almost complete; heavily encrusted; badly flaking; burning at wickhole.
L. 0.109, W. 0.069, H. 0.052 m.
Clay buff, misfired grey in places, soft; dull orange slip.
Rim: hatchings. Discus: wild boar running toward handle. Handle projects beyond edge of body. Underside: base-ring without ridges; three raised dots in pyramid formation pointing toward nozzle.

29. Group 2. Fifth century. Fig. 36.

C68.108. Almost complete; encrusted; burning at wickhole.
L. 0.104, W. 0.061, H. 0.046 m.
Clay orange-buff, soft; no remaining slip.
Rim: hatchings. Discus: plain. Underside: base-ring and ridges.

30. Group 2. Fifth century.

C68.123. Almost complete; encrusted; burning around wickhole.
L. 0.102, W. 0.06, H. 0.04 m.

Clay buff, soft; traces of orange slip.

Rim: hatchings. Discus: plain. Underside: base-ring with ridges.

31. Group 2. Fifth century. Fig. 36.

C68.124. Almost complete; chipped; encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.10, W. 0.059, H. as preserved 0.038 m.

Clay buff, medium hard; slip brown to blackish brown.

Rim: hatchings. Discus: eight-petaled rosette.

Underside: base-ring with ridges; inside base-ring a crudely rendered raised palm branch.

32. Group 2. Fifth century.

C68.129. Intact; chipped; encrusted; burning around wickhole.

L. 0.105, W. 0.062, H. 0.044 m.

Clay orange-buff, soft; traces of orange slip.

Rim: hatchings. Discus: plain. Underside: base-ring with ridges.

Broneer Type XXVIII

Broneer's Type XXVIII is a large and varied group of lamps dating in the fourth and fifth centuries.[24] The type in general has a raised band around the discus, various designs on the discus and rim, and a low base-ring. The lamps of this type from the shrine of Liber Pater belong to two groups according to the designs on the rim: Group One with a vine pattern, resembling Broneer's rim pattern No. 12,[25] and Group Two with three or four rows of raised dots, basically corresponding to Broneer's rim pattern No. 20.[26] The lamps in both groups have a round body and discus and a short, rounded nozzle. The handle in Group One is pierced whereas Group Two, with one exception, has a knob-like handle in which a hole was begun but not pierced through. In the lamps from Corinth the latter is considered a feature of the earlier examples, the former a later feature.[27] The clay of both groups is light in color, ranging from pale buff to tan, fine in texture, and generally soft. The slip is brown or reddish brown. They are all rather crudely made.

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[24] Broneer, pp. 27, 102-114.

[25] *Ibid.*, fig. 48, no. 12.

[26] *Ibid.*, fig. 48, no. 20.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

33. Group 1. Fourth-fifth century. Fig. 37.

C68.128. Complete; chipped and worn; slightly encrusted.

L. 0.103, W. 0.073, H. 0.041 m.

Clay tan, hard with soft surface; slip brown to reddish brown, unevenly applied.

Rim: vine pattern. Discus: *kantharos*; a filling-hole inside each handle of *kantharos*; discus separated from rim by double raised band opening to edge a channel on the nozzle. Handle projects beyond edge of body, continuing in relief on underside where it tapers to a point near base-ring.

34. Group 1. Fourth-fifth century.

C68.673. Fragmentary; worn and chipped; encrusted; burning at wickhole.

As preserved: L. 0.087, W.0.06 m.; H. complete 0.041 m.

Buff clay with brown slip.

As Cat. no. 33.

35. Group 2. Fourth century. Fig. 37.

C68.107. Complete; encrusted; very worn.

L. 0.103, W. 0.077, H. 0.052 m.

Pale buff clay with traces of brown slip.

Rim: four rows of raised dots. Discus: plain, depressed, and surrounded by single raised band; contains one rather large filling-hole. Wickhole very close to discus, interrupting rows of dots. Handle projects beyond edge of body, continuing in relief on underside to adjoin base-ring.

For similar lamps see Johanna Brants, *Antieke Terracotta Lampen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden 1913) no. 1025 and pl. VI; Hans Deringer, *Römischen Lampen aus Lauriacum* (Linz 1965) no. 342 and pl. XI; M. A. Evelein, *Beschrijving van de Verzameling van het Museum G. M. Kam, de romeinsche Lampen* ('s-Gravenhage 1928) no. V, 4 and pl. XVII; Rudolf Noll, "Die antiken Lampen in Landesmuseum zu Innsbruck," *JOAIBeibl* 30 (1937) 244, no. 52 and fig. 81; and J. M. B. Oleiro, *Museu Machado de Castro, catálogo de lucernas romanas* (Coimbra 1952) no. 9 and pl. VI.

36. Group 2. Fourth century.

C68.675. Upper half of lamp, fragmentary; worn; encrusted.
L. 0.105, W. 0.074, H. as preserved 0.033 m.
Buff clay with traces of reddish brown slip.
As Cat. no. 35 except that ridge around discus not clearly delineated on inner edge so that discus appears to slope toward filling-hole. Handle not pierced.

For similar lamps see Pierre de Brun and Sylvain Gagnière, *Les lampes antiques du Musée Calvet d'Avignon* (Carpentras 1937) no. 282 and pl. XV; Menzel (1969) no. 568 and fig. 81, no. 11; and Oleiro (supra Cat. no. 35) no. 10 and pl. VI.

37. Group 2. Fourth century.

C68.676. Complete upper half of lamp; worn; encrusted.
L. 0.092, W. 0.07, H. as preserved 0.031 m.
Buff clay with traces of brown slip.
As Cat. no. 35.

38. Group 2. Fourth century.

C68.677. Fragment of upper half of lamp; worn; encrusted.
As preserved: L. 0.079, W. 0.039, H. 0.024 m.
Pale buff clay with traces of brown slip.
As Cat. no. 35.

Miscellaneous Late Lamps

Neither of the following two lamps fits into the above categories of late Roman lamps. They are considered late types owing to the debased nature of their form and decoration.

39. Possibly Broneer Type XXVIII. Fourth-fifth century. Fig. 38.

C68.106. Fragmentary, upper half of nozzle missing; encrusted.
L. 0.093, W. 0.067, H. 0.035 m.
Tan clay, soft and fine in texture; traces of orange-brown slip.
Round body. Rim: sloping, decorated with raised irregular zigzag. Discus: circular, depressed; eight raised lines radiate from single filling-hole. Short nozzle; pierced handle projects behind body and continues in relief to underside. Underside: plain, flat base.

40. Degenerated Factory lamp(?). Fourth-fifth century. Fig. 38.

C68.680. Fragmentary upper half of lamp, top of nozzle missing; very worn; encrusted.

L. as preserved 0.067, W. complete 0.013, H. as preserved 0.013 m.

Pale grey-buff clay, soft and somewhat coarse in texture; no trace of slip.

Round body. Rim: sloping, trace of lug only at back. Discus: plain, depressed, and surrounded by raised edge which opens to form edge for channel on nozzle; single filling-hole.

Earlier Lamps

These are two individual fragments from lamps of distinctly early imperial types, the first a Factory lamp, the second most likely an Alpha Globule lamp. These pieces must be strays as no other fragments belonging to them were found in the shrine.

41. Factory lamp. Early Imperial. Fig. 38.

C68.678. Fragment of upper half of lamp, nozzle missing; worn; encrusted.

As preserved: L. 0.058, W. 0.05, H. 0.012 m.

Dark brown clay, medium hard with soft surface, texture fine though sandy. No slip preserved.

Round handleless body. Rim: sloping, contains two of the usual three lugs. Discus: plain, depressed, and surrounded by thick raised band; single filling-hole. Crudely made.

42. Alpha Globule lamp (Broneer Type XX). First century B.C. Fig. 38.

C68.679. Fragment of upper half of lamp, nozzle missing; encrusted.

As preserved: L. 0.075, W. 0.059, H. 0.036 m.

Tan clay, soft and fine in texture; brown slip.

Round body. Rim: sloping, decorated with four rows of raised dots; on one side of nozzle a trace of volute extending onto rim. Discus: plain, depressed, and surrounded by circular raised band; single filling-hole. Pierced handle appears to project behind body.

Other Alpha Globule lamps from Cosa, as yet unpublished, have come from contexts dating to the first century B.C. For similar lamps see Judith Perlzweig, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, The Athenian Agora, vol. 7 (Princeton 1961) no. 427 and pl. 14, no. 454 and pls. 12, 14.

POTTERY

The pottery from the shrine includes the following shapes: cups, jugs, beakers, cooking ware, and ritual vessels. These exhibit three different fabrics: Fabric A which has a fine texture, Fabric B which resembles Fabric A except for a coarser grog, and a very coarse Fabric C. The pottery, like the lamps, may be dated on the basis of accompanying numismatic evidence to the fourth and fifth centuries.[28] For the finding places inside the shrine, see above, p. 15.

The pottery of Fabric A forms the largest group, including all the cups and jugs, a beaker, and two ritual vessels. The texture of the clay is always very fine. It is medium-hard fired with a soft surface where the slip has worn away. The clay is commonly grogged only with fine sand and mica, but occasionally small particles of lime, red pozzolana, and small shiny brown flakes occur. The breaks are smooth and clean. The color of the clay in most cases is orange-buff, although some examples are a more neutral or a brownish buff. There is a grey core where the walls are especially thick. The pottery often misfires in spots to a grey color throughout.

The slip is generally orange, sometimes somewhat brownish orange, occasionally brown. It is always matt and very thinly applied so that it wears off easily. It is applied to both the interior and exterior including the base of the cups. On the jugs it is also applied to the exterior including the base but to the interior only from the rim to the neck, where it drips farther down the walls. Very rarely are the jugs completely slipped on the interior. The beakers and ritual vessels of this fabric are slipped both inside and out.

The pots of Fabric A are carelessly made. Both the cups and the jugs have a tendency to sag off center; their bases are not level and they preserve spiral grooves from being turned off the wheel. Wheel marks are not removed from the interiors; this is especially true of the jugs. Blobs of clay stick here and there to all surfaces, handles are irregular in section and sloppily attached, the slip is irregularly applied and drips down the interior walls of the jugs, and there are fingerprints everywhere.

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[28] On the coins from the shrine, see above pp. 15-16, and below pp. 86-99.

Fabric B is distinguished from the coarser Fabric C by the finer texture of its clay and is represented by only two pieces, a beaker and a fragment of a ritual vessel. The clay itself is the fine orange-buff clay of Fabric A, but it contains a coarser grog of sand, mica, large shiny brown flakes, and large pieces of red pozzolana and lime.

Fabric C is an extremely coarse ware, generally blackened from cooking fires. It is represented by several ritual vessels in addition to more standard household forms. The clay is very hard-fired and contains a very heavy grog of sand, mica, pieces of red pozzolana and lime, brown shiny flakes, and occasional chips of quartz. The color varies from orange to a greyish pink. It is difficult to tell whether there was any slip.

Cups

All the cups, with one exception, have two vertical handles; the exception, Cat. no. 46, is certain to have had three handles. The handles join the body at the rim and the base of the wall. They are generally grooved. The walls slope slightly outward and are set off from the lower body. They tend to be decorated with wheelmade ridges. The rim is everted and either flat or ridged on top. The small low foot has a flat base. The fabric is exclusively Fabric A.

Diameters are always at the rim.

43. CUP, TWO HANDLES. Figs. 4; 39.

C68.121. H. 0.06-0.061; Diam. 0.092 m. Fragmentary but almost complete. Rather heavily encrusted with lime and roots marks.

Orange-buff clay, orange slip.

Wall decorated with wheel-made ridges. Ridged lip. Off-center groove in each handle.

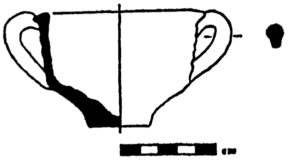

Fig. 4. Two-handled Cup, Cat. No. 43

44. Cup, two handles. Fig. 39.

C68.156. H. 0.058-0.064; Diam. 0.095 m. Fragmentary but almost complete; one handle missing. Encrusted with lime and root marks.

Orange-buff clay; orange to brownish orange slip.

Wall smoothed on exterior and decorated with cross-hatched lattice design scratched through slip. A ridge at juncture of wall and lower body. Flat lip; grooved handle.

45. Cup, two handles. Fig. 39.

C68.220. H. 0.049-0.053; Diam. 0.094 m. Fragmentary but almost complete. Heavily encrusted with lime and root marks.

Orange-buff clay; orange to brownish orange slip.

Rather lower in height than others. Walls decorated with wheel-made ridges, not so pronounced as Cat. no. 43. Ridged lip; grooved handles unequal in width.

46. Cup, three handles. Fig. 40.

C68.133. H. 0.059-0.061; Diam. 0.092 m. Fragmentary but almost complete; one handle missing. Rather heavily encrusted with lime and root marks.

Clay more orange than that of other cups; orange to brownish orange slip.

Preserved handles definitely spaced, though not quite equally, as for three; distinct trace of third handle remains at rim. Pronounced wheel-made ridges on wall; flat lip; rounded handles.

Jugs

The jugs have either biconical or globular bodies and round spoutless mouths. One jug has a high, narrow neck (Cat. no. 47);

the bodies of all the others swell immediately into flaring rims which have variously profiled lips. The single handle joins at the rim and just above the widest part of the body. Their sections vary: they may be rounded along the outside, ridged, or grooved. The feet are all small with flat bases. Wheel-made grooves on the exterior of the jugs form the standard decoration. The grooves are shallow and do not form the pronounced ridges as found on cups Cat. nos. 43 and 46.

Two uncatalogued fragments present evidence of a form with an ovoid body. One is a fragment of a plain flaring rim which preserves traces of a handle. It is thin walled and has very faint wheel-made ridges. The buff clay has a brown slip applied to both interior and exterior. The other is a fragment of the base and lower body presumably of a jug. It has wheel-made ridges on the body and an indentation just inside the edge of the foot. The clay is grey-brown, probably due to misfiring, and preserves no trace of a slip.

The fabric is exclusively Fabric A.

47. JUG, HIGH NECK. Fig. 5.

C68.232. H. 0.126; Diam. 0.087 m. Fragmentary but almost complete; not restored. Heavily encrusted with lime and root marks.

Soft, buff clay, misfired grey in places; traces of brown slip on exterior only.

High, narrow neck; flaring lip with shallow groove on inside. Globular body lacking wheel-made grooves, perhaps merely worn away. Handle flattish and lopsided, probably meant to be grooved.

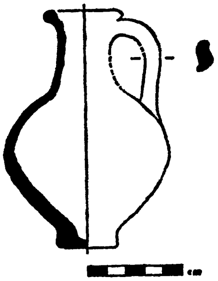

Fig. 5. High-necked Jug, Cat. No. 47

48. Biconical jug.

C68.221. H. 0.099; Diam. 0.095 m. Fragmentary but almost complete; part of handle missing. Encrusted with lime and root marks; traces of burning all over.

Orange-buff clay; completely slipped inside and out: orange exterior, brownish orange interior.

Pronounced biconical body decorated with rather wide wheel-made grooves. Indented lip; grooved handle.

49. Biconical jug. Fig. 41.

C68.683. H. 0.102; Diam. 0.092 m. Fragmentary but almost complete, handle missing. Encrusted with lime and root marks.

Orange-buff clay misfired pale grey in places; orange slip.

Biconical body; indented lip.

50. Biconical jug.

C68.684. H. 0.095; Diam. restored 0.086 m. Handle and about half of the body missing; foot intact. Encrusted with lime and root marks; traces of burning on interior of bottom.

Orange-buff clay; orange slip.

Body and lip as Cat. no. 49.

51. Biconical jug. Figs. 6 right; 41.

C68.233. H. 0.101; Diam. 0.092 m. Fragmentary but almost complete. A pit in rim from where bit of lime burst in firing. Heavily encrusted with lime and root marks.

Buff clay with more bits of red pozzolana and shiny brown flakes than usual. Brownish orange slip.

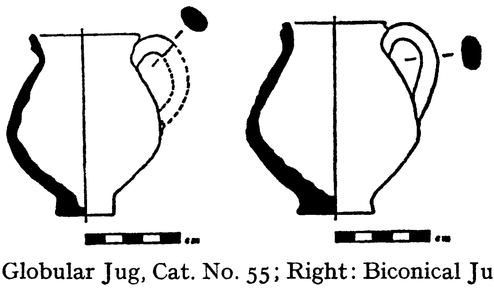

Fig. 6. Left: Globular Jug, Cat. No. 55; Right: Biconical Jug, Cat. No. 51

Biconical body; small indented lip inset from outer limit of rim. Rounded handle. Wheel-made ridges more pronounced on upper portion of body. Feels heavy.

52. BICONICAL JUG.

C68.687. H. 0.093; Diam. 0.091 m. Fragmentary. Slightly encrusted with lime and root marks.

Buff to brownish buff clay misfired grey in one place; contains more bits of red pozzolana and lime than usual. Brown slip.

Shape similar to Cat. no. 51 but lip has finer profile. Ridged handle. In addition to normal wheel-made grooves the body has fine wheel-made lines, as from a brush, where slip worn away.

53. BICONICAL (?) JUG.

C68.162. H. as preserved 0.062; Diam. restored 0.073 m. Fragmentary, entire lower body missing. Slightly encrusted with lime and root marks.

Buff clay; brown slip.

Thinner walled and smaller than above jugs. Body probably biconical; indented lip. Handle convex on outside, concave on inside with ridge and two grooves.

54. GLOBULAR JUG.

C68.225. H. 0.085-0.089; Diam. 0.083 m. Fragmentary; chipped, encrusted with lime and root marks.

Buff clay with more bits of red pozzolana and shiny brown flakes than usual. Brownish orange slip.

Globular body; small, plain lip; ridged handle, crudely made. Entire jug lists badly to one side.

55. GLOBULAR JUG. Figs. 6 left; 41.

C68.222. H. 0.096; Diam. 0.081 m. Fragmentary but almost complete; most of handle missing. Heavily encrusted with lime and root marks.

Brownish buff clay, misfired grey in places, containing more of lime and red pozzolana than usual. Orange slip.

Well-proportioned globular body. Finely made rim with high straight sided lip, two hair-line grooves at base of lip. Foot narrower than usual. Rounded handle. Very faint wheel-made ridges on body.

A small group of miniature jugs exhibit varying shapes; all have the small foot with a flat base. These are also Fabric A.

56. MINIATURE JUG. Fig. 42.

C68.134. H. 0.059; Diam. 0.056 m. Handle and piece of rim missing, otherwise intact. Chipped; encrusted heavily with lime and root marks.

Brownish buff clay, misfired grey in places, coral core; heavier grog than usual. No slip.

Globular body with straight rim. Faint wheel-made indentation at widest part of body.

57. MINIATURE JUG. Fig. 43.

C68.135. H. 0.066; Diam. 0.076 m. Complete. Heavily encrusted with lime and root marks. Blackened area on interior.

Buff clay misfired grey in places, especially on interior. Brownish orange slip.

Squat, plump body with plain flaring rim. Wheel-made indentations on lower portion of body. Grooved handle.

58. MINIATURE JUG.

C68.155. H. 0.054; Diam. 0.054 m. Fragmentary; handle missing. Chipped. Slightly encrusted with lime and root marks.

Yellowish buff clay, very hard throughout. Fine texture, containing sand and bits of red pozzolana. No trace of slip.

Globular body with plain flaring rim. Faint wheel-made indentation below widest part of body. Fine wheel-made lines, as from brush, on body.

Beakers

These are fragmentary and have not been inventoried.

59. BEAKER (?)

Not inventoried. H. as preserved 0.047; Diam. at rim restored 0.085 m.

Fabric A: buff clay containing an occasional bit of lime; brown slip inside and out.

A fragment of rim and wall consisting of four joining pieces. Mouth much wider than those of jugs, suggesting a more open vessel. Flaring rim with indented lip. Body decorated with cross-hatched lines forming lattice design scratched through slip (cf. cup Cat. no. 44).

60. Beaker.

Not inventoried. Rim: H. 0.039, Diam. at rim 0.062 m.; base: H. 0.04 m.; possible restored H. of beaker 0.12, Diam. 0.094 m. Fragmentary; all of middle portion missing.

Fabric B: light brown slip on exterior, on interior traces only on rim.

Rim and base fragments of beaker; these most probably belong together because both are thin walled and the clay and slip are identical. Plain flaring rim; flat base offset from body.

Cooking Ware

There are only three pieces in this category; all are of Fabric C.

61. Pot. Figs. 7; 44.

C68.686. H. as preserved 0.11; Diam. at outer edge of rim 0.20 m. Fragmentary, portion of rim and body only. Greyish discolored areas from cooking fires. Slightly encrusted with lime and root marks.

Pinkish buff clay.

Bowl with very slight carination; upper part of body decorated

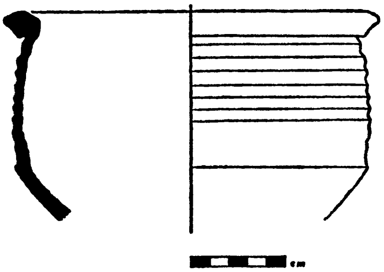

Fig. 7. Pot, Cat. No. 61

with pronounced wheel-made ridges; lower part of body plain. Wheelmarks left on interior above carination, none below. Everted, pendent rim.

62. FLAT-BOTTOMED PAN. Figs. 8; 45.

C68.223. H. 0.07; Diam. at rim restored 0.185 m. Most of walls and bottom missing. Heavily burned from cooking fires. Root marks.

Brownish buff clay.

Fairly straight walls curve into flat bottom; plain slightly flaring rim.

63. LID. Figs. 8; 46.

C68.136. H. 0.067; Diam. 0.202; Diam. knob 0.045 m. Almost complete. Encrusted with lime and root marks. Burned from cooking fires.

Orange clay.

Conical lid with up-curving rim. Underside of rim indented for fitting rim of cooking pot. Round knob, flat on top. Top of knob left rough from wheel.

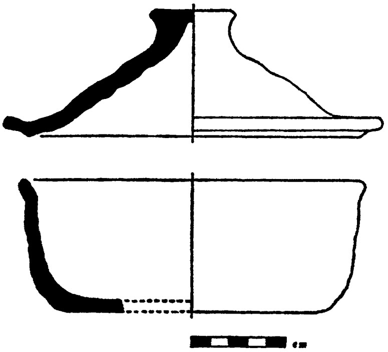

Fig. 8. Flat-bottomed Pan and Lid, Cat. Nos. 62-63

Ritual Vessels

Although fragmentary these vessels appear to fall into two groups. One comprises large open vessels with vertical handles surmounted by a small cup. Plastic decorations of various sorts appear on the body, but all the vessels feature snakes crawling up the handles to rest their heads on the small cups. The second group is represented by several fragments which seem to belong to a large open vessel resembling a *kernos*, for small cups are placed on the rim.

64. RITUAL VESSEL. Fig. 47.

C68.144. H. as preserved 0.242; Diam. at outer edge of rim restored 0.17 m. Extremely fragmentary, no complete profile. One handle attached to part of rim and body; pieces of second handle; other pieces of handle, body, and attached snakes. No foot or base preserved. Encrusted with lime and root marks.

Fabric A: extremely soft pinkish buff clay badly misfired grey in many places. Faint traces of brownish orange slip on exterior only; interior probably also slipped (see Cat. no. 65).

Large open vessel with two handles. Rounded body whose upper and lower portions sharply offset from each other. Plain flaring rim. Broad grooved handle attached at rim and widest part of body. At top of handles a small cup. On handle-zone of largest preserved portion an attached *bucranium*, crudely made, on either side of which a large circle formed of tiny impressed diamonds. More diamonds scattered inside large circles. Principal decoration in form of applied snake winding around upper part of body and crawling up handle to drink from small cup. Snakes' eyes inset with opaque blue glass, only one of which preserved. Body of snake decorated with impressed diamonds similar to ones on body of vessel.

65. RITUAL VESSEL. Figs. 9 bottom; 48.

C67.463, C68.29. H. as preserved 0.207; Diam. restored 0.28 m. Handle and small part of upper body only; no complete profile. Slightly encrusted with lime and root marks.

Fabric A: orange-buff clay containing usual grog, bits of red pozzolana and lime larger than usual; an occasional chip of quartz. Orange slip inside and out, unevenly applied.

Shape as Cat. no. 64. Decorated with applied snakes: head and tail of two winding around upper body, a third crawling up handle to drink from small cup. Eyes, mouth, and nostrils of snakes indicated by impressed dots or lines; bodies decorated with impressed circles.

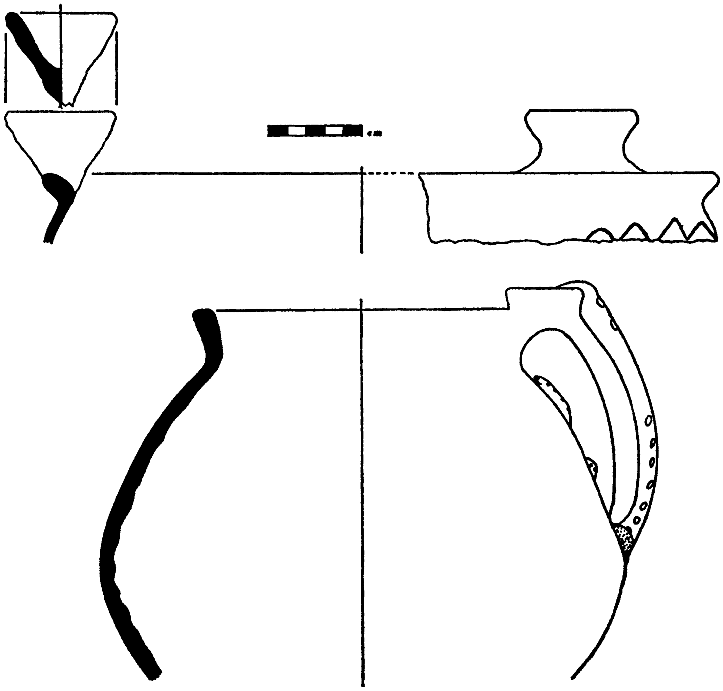

Fig. 9. Top: Kernos, Cat. No. 69; Bottom: Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 65

66. Ritual vessel.

Three non-joining fragments (Inv. no. C68.153a-c) also of Fabric A, seem to represent a third ritual vessel similar to Cat. no. 65.

67. Ritual vessel. Fig. 49.

A fourth large open vessel, of Fabric C, is represented by several non-joining fragments, C68.151a-d. The vessel appears to have a rounded body and a low flaring rim with a vertical lip. Applied snakes wind around the body and crawl up to look over the rim. The snakes are decorated with impressed dots. The clay of this vessel is orange-red in color. The preserved pieces bear no traces of burning. Of identical clay, and therefore possibly associated with these fragments, is a tiny cup broken from the rim of a similar vessel (Inv. no. C68.163).

68. FRAGMENT OF APPLIED SNAKE FROM RITUAL VESSEL. Fig. 50.

C68.152. Max. pres. L. 0.149 m.

Fabric A; pinkish-buff clay misfired grey.

This fragment preserves the head end of a snake broken from the wall or handle of a vessel. It is crudely made and decorated with hastily incised hatched lines.

69. FRAGMENT OF *Kernos* (?). Figs. 9 top; 51.

C68.3. H. as preserved 0.068; L. 0.157; Diam. at outer edge of rim 0.36; Diam. of small cup 0.058 m. Chipped. Traces of burning only on outer edge of rim and on little cup. Encrusted with lime and root marks.

Fabric C: pinkish orange clay.

Fragment of rim of large open vessel to which is attached a small cup in manner of *kernos*. Everted rim; body appears to be rounded. Small cup has flaring sides terminating with slightly incurved rim. Body and top of rim decorated with incised wavy lines.

70. *Kernos* CUP.

C68.685. H. as preserved 0.033; Diam. at rim 0.058 m. Chipped; slightly encrusted with lime and root marks.

Fabric B: grey core; brownish orange slip inside and out.

Broken from rim of *kernos*. Small, conical cup with rather thick walls. On exterior near rim a shallow, broad indentation. Plain rounded lipless rim.

For the most part the above vessels and fragments were found inside the shrine. However, Cat. no. 65 consists of two joining pieces of which one (Inv. no. C67.463) was found on the portico paving in front of the shrine. Thus it seems necessary to associate with the ritual vessels from the shrine certain fragments of pottery which may logically be associated with the shrine material, but which were found outside the shrine. The pieces listed below were found on or near the portico in front of or near the shrine during excavations in 1967 and 1968. They consist mainly of plastic decorations applied to the walls or handles of ritual vessels and fragments with both applied and incised decorations.

Nine of these pieces are of identical clay and may come from the same vessel (Inv. nos. C67.525e, .548a and b; C68.15, .117, .243, .244, .251, and .253). A large, open shape is suggested by one piece (Inv. no. C67.548a), which preserves a portion of rim. The shape has straighter walls than the more bulging shape of Cat. nos. 64 and 65, to judge by the contours of wall preserved in the other fragments. If these pieces do indeed belong to the same vessel, it must have had a fantastic appearance, cluttered with applied and incised decorations including a lizard, a *gorgoneion,* three draped women standing on a single base, one or more snakes decorated with impressed ovals, a palm branch, and miscellaneous unidentifiable motifs.

There is no slip unless otherwise noted.

71. FRAGMENTS WITH APPLIED SNAKES.

This group comprises both pieces of the wall or handle of vessels decorated with applied snakes and pieces of the snake appliqués which have broken from such vessels. The fragments are best arranged according to the decorations on the bodies of the snakes.

1. *Impressed Dots*

(a) C67.525a. Fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 52. Max. Pres. L. 0.101 m.

Fabric C; orange clay.

(b) C67.525b. Head of snake. Fig. 53. Max. Pres. L. 0.06 m.

Fabric as above.

(c) C67.525c. Fragment of wall of vessel. Max. Pres. L. 0.06 m.

Fabric as above. These three may be compared to Cat. no. 67, also of the same fabric and whose snakes are decorated in the same fashion.

(d) C67.525d. Fragment of wall of vessel. Max. Pres. L. 0.10 m.

Fabric A; buff clay, orange slip.

(e) C67.525f. Fragment of wall of vessel. Max. Pres. L. 0.168 m.

Fabric A; orange-buff clay, orange slip.

2. *Impressed Ovals*

(a) C67.525e. Fragment of handle. Fig. 54. Max. Pres. L. 0.065 m.
Fabric B; orange-buff clay, orange slip.
(b) C68.117. Fragment of snake. Max. Pres. L. 0.076 m.
Fabric B; orange-buff clay; orange slip.
(c) C68.251. Fragment of wall of vessel. Max. Pres. L. 0.137 m.
Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

3. *Impressed Circles*

(a) C68.236. Fragment of wall of vessel. Max. Pres. L. 0.049 m.
Fabric A; buff clay, orange slip.
(b) C68.237. Fragment of handle. Fig. 55. Max. Pres. L. 0.053 m.
Fabric and slip as above.
(c) C68.241. Fragment of snake. Max. Pres. L. 0.049 m.
Fabric and slip as above. These three pieces may be compared to Cat. nos. 65 and 66 which have the same fabric and color of slip and whose snakes are also decorated with impressed circles.

4. *Impressed Diamonds*

C68.238. Fragment of snake. Fig. 56. Max. Pres. L. 0.052 m.
Fabric A; buff clay; orange slip. This piece may be compared to Cat. no. 64.

5. *Incised Herringbone*

C67.525g. Fragment of snake. Fig. 57. Max. Pres. L. 0.045 m.
Fabric A; pinkish buff clay; orange slip.

6. *Impressed Crescents*

C67.525h. Fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 58. Max. Pres. L. 0.146 m.

Fabric C; red-orange clay.

This piece also contains bands of horizontal grooves and an incised wavy line.

7. *Incised X's*

C67.525i. Fragment of snake. Fig. 59. Max. Pres. L. 0.135 m.
Fabric A; pinkish buff clay.

72. FRAGMENTS WITH APPLIQUÉS IN OTHER FORMS.

(a) C68.243. Lizard on fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 60. Max. Pres. L. 0.079 m.

Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

(b) C68.244. Face and wings on fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 61. Max. Pres. L. 0.085 m.

Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

The face appears above a pair of wings; it wears a winged cap.

(c) C68.253. Three women on fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 62. Max. Pres. H. 0.101 m.

Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

Three draped female figures stand on projecting base and support something (basket?) on their heads.

73. FRAGMENTS WITH MISCELLANEOUS DECORATIONS.

(a) C67.548a. Fragment of rim. Fig. 63. Diam. at outer edge of rim, restored 0.30 m., Max. Pres. H. 0.099 m.

Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

Rather broad, everted rim, flat on top. Below rim an incised wavy line. Below this are various decorations, from the left: two applied forms at broken edge, an incised palm branch, and an applied crescent shape.

(b) C67.548b. Fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 63. Max. Pres. L. 0.067 m.

Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

Decoration: an unidentifiable form consisting of a small semicircular shape attached to a squared ridge.

(c) C68.15. Fragment of wall of vessel. Fig. 64. Max. Pres. H. 0.091 m.

Fabric B; orange-buff clay.

Unidentifiable applied decorations.

74. FRAGMENT OF HANDLE OF RITUAL VESSEL. Figs. 65, 66.

C67.520. Max. Pres. H. 0.147 m.; lamp: L. 0.090 m., W. 0.063 m. No traces of burning.

Fabric C; reddish orange clay.

Preserves only the upper portion of vertical strap handle with complete lamp resting where handle joins rim. Not enough of rim preserved to restore diameter. Lamp: pear-shaped, no handle; sloping rim without decoration; circular discus with two filling holes between which a raised oval shape; narrow channel between discus and wickhole. Resembles a simplified African lamp.

COINS [29]

All are Imperial bronze coins of small denominations belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries. For the most part the coins are in bad to extremely worn condition, resulting in no specific identifications for fifty-seven of the total of one hundred nine coins found in the shrine. Only one coin is totally illegible. The descriptions given for each coin or group of coins refer to the legend and type of the reverse.[30] For the finding places within the shrine, see above p. 15. See also above p. 15-16 for a discussion of their chronological distribution and for their significance relevant to the floruit of the shrine.

LICINIUS II (317-324)

75. Follis minted at Arles in 317. C68.178

IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter l.

Cf. *RIC*, p. 246, no. 125.

CONSTANTIUS II (337-361)

76. AE3 of uncertain mint, 351-361. C68.45, 46, 50, 66, 73

FEL TEMP REPARATIO Virtus spearing horseman

*FH*3

77. AE3 of uncertain mint, 355-361. C68.51, 67, 72, 97

SPES REIPVBLICE Virtus l.

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[29] The information appearing in this catalogue of the coins was very kindly supplied by Professor T. V. Buttrey of the University of Michigan from his forthcoming publication of the coins from Cosa.

[30] Bibliographic abbreviations special to this section:

LRBC: P. V. Hill, R. A. G. Carson, and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, A.D. 324-498* (London 1960).

RIC: C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, eds., *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 7 (London 1966).

HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE

78. AE Follis, 320-330. C68.47
legend around wreath

79. AE Follis, 335-341. C68.77
GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers and standard

80. AE, 341-346. C68.64
VOT XX MVLT XXX Wreath

81. AE3, 351-361. C68.76
FEL TEMP REPARATIO Virtus spearing horseman
*FH*3

82. AE3, 351-361. C68.49, 194
FEL TEMP REPARATIO
FH variety uncertain

83. AE3, 355-361. C68.181, 184
SPES REIPVBLICE Virtus l.

VALENTINIAN I (364-375)

84. AE3 minted at Rome in 367-375. C68.48, 179
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.
Cf. *LRBC*, p. 61, no. 718.

85. AE3 of uncertain mint, 364-375. C68.65
GLORIA ROMANORVM 8 Emperor and captive r.

VALENS (364-378)

86. AE3 minted at Rome, 367-375. C68.92
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.
Cf. *LRBC*, p. 61, no. 713.

87. AE3 minted at Rome, 367-378. C68.81
Same
Cf. *LRBC*, p. 61, nos. 725, 730.

88. AE3 of uncertain mint, 364-375. C68.82
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.

GRATIAN (*367-383*)

89. AE3 of uncertain mint, 367-375. C68.34; C69.26
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.

VALENTINIAN II (*375-392*)

90. AE4 of uncertain mint, 383-392. C68.58, 90
SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive l.
1 or 2.

THEODOSIUS I (*379-395*)

91. AE4 minted at Rome, 388-392. C68.100
SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive l.
1 or 2
Cf. *LRBC*, p. 62, no. 797.

MAGNUS MAXIMUS (*384-388*)

92. AE4 of uncertain mint, 387-388. C68.105
SPES ROMANORVM 1 Camp gate

HONORIUS (*393-423*)

93. AE4 of uncertain mint, 410-423. C68.33
VICTORIA AVGGG 1 Victory 1.

VALENTINIAN I-VALENTINIAN III (*425-455*)

94. AE3 minted at Rome, 367-375. C68.52, 75, 180
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.

95. AE4 minted at Rome, 383-387. C68.38
VICTORIA AVGGG 2 Victory l.

96. AE3 of uncertain mint, 364-378. C68.59, 87, 94
GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive r.
6 or 8

97. AE3 of uncertain mint, 364-378. C68.74, 86, 209
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.

98. AE4 of uncertain mint, 383-392. C68.35, 215
VICTORIA AVG 4 or AVGGG 2 Two victories

99. AE4 of uncertain mint, 383-408. C68.39, 80, 84, 102
SALVS REIPVBLICAE 1 or 2. Victory and captive l.

100. AE4 of uncertain mint, 410-455. C68.186
VICTORIA AVG or or AVGG or AVGGG Victory l.

101. AE4 of uncertain mint, 425-455. C68.187
Uncertain type

UNCLASSIFIED

102. Uncertain types of fourth-fifth centuries.
C68.16-19, 36-37, 53-57, 60-63, 68-71, 78-79, 83, 88-89, 91, 93, 95-96, 98-99, 101, 103-104, 182-183, 188-193, 195-208, 210 (two pieces), 242
C69.27

ILLEGIBLE

103. C68.185

SMALL FINDS

The small finds comprise a varied group of objects ranging from a glass bead originally belonging to someone's necklace to miscellaneous nails and spikes. The nails and spikes of iron are badly disintegrated and have not been catalogued. These structural pieces could conceivably have been used in the roof of the building, although they could just as easily have been strays. The stone counter and lead slug, and perhaps the glass bead, could also be intruders. The small objects were found scattered here and there within the building, sometimes within the layers of fallen walls and roof or sifted to the lower layer nearer the floor. It is difficult to be certain of their dates.

104. GAMING PIECE. Fig. 67.

C68.2. H. 0.014 m., Max. Diam. at bottom 0.02 m. Pinkish-orange stone.

This stone counter is shaped like an elongated hemisphere with a flat bottom.

Cf. Gladys R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, Corinth, vol. 12 (Princeton 1952) no. 1716, a similarly shaped stone counter dated in the first or second century.

105. BEAD. Fig. 68.

C68.28. Diam. 0.013-0.015 m., Th. 0.01 m., Diam. of perforation 0.004 m. Opaque glass. Slightly encrusted.

This bead takes the form of a flattened sphere of uneven shape with a central perforation. It is black and contains three yellow insets.

106. SLUG OR FITTING (?). Fig. 69.

C68.120. L. 0.045 m., W. 0.038 m., H. 0.014 m., Wt. 7 grams. Lead. Encrusted with lime and mortar.

This object is roughly rectangular with slightly convex sides. It has a lumpy convex underside and a flat upper surface with a raised edge. Incised on the upper surface is an illegible notation.

107. NAIL.

C68.114. L. as preserved 0.059 m., Max. Dimension of head 0.017 m., Shank 0.05-0.02 m. on a side. Bronze. Light green patina. Corroded; encrusted with grains of sand; bent.

The nail-head is circular and flat, the shank square in section.

108. SPIKE.

C68.115. L. as preserved 0.098 m., Max. Diam. of head as preserved 0.015 m., Shank 0.08-0.02 m. on a side. Bronze. Black patina with touches of light green. Corroded.

The head is circular and convex, the shank square in section.

109. ATTACHMENT. Fig. 70.

C68.31. L. 0.048 m., Max. W. 0.01 m., Th. 0.001-0.003 m. Bronze. Green patina; encrusted; bent.

This attachment is roughly rectangular with a hole at each end; one hole still preserves the head of a bronze pin. The attachment is not flat, for each hole is placed in a crosswise indentation.

INDEX

Numbers in boldface type refer to entries in the Catalogue of the Finds.

African lamps: *see* Lamps, African
African lamps, copies of: *see* Lamps, African, copies of
Afterlife 19, 25, 42
Aion 39, 40 n. 105
Alexander Polyhistor 42 n. 112
Altar 11, 12, 13
Animal, running 62 (**15**), 66 (**27**)
Antefix 14, 58-59 (**11**), Fig. 32
Appliqué 17, 33-37, 37-38 n. 96
Aquincum 31 n. 72
Ariadne 29, 38, 51
Athena 27, 28, 55; as protector of Dionysus 28: *see also* Minerva
Athenaeus 33
Athens: cult of Sabazius in 41; Iobacchi of 18, 19 and n. 27, 21, 23, 36 n. 94
Attis 29
Augst 32 n. 73
Augustine, Saint 29 n. 68

Bacchae 33
Bacchus 17, 18, 23, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42-45, 50; cult statue of 7, 14, 17, 24, 49-50 (**1**), Fig. 22: *see also* Dionysus; Liber Pater
Βακκχεῖον 19, 20; of the Iobacchi 19 n. 27, 21, 22, 36 n. 94
Banquet: *see* Sacred meal
Basilica: *see* Cosa: basilica
Beakers 77-78 (**59-60**): *see also* Pottery
Bird 61 (**13**)
Boar, wild 66 (**28**)
Βουκόλοι 34
Bucranium 34, 37 n. 96; on ritual vessels 17, 33
Bull 34; Dionysus in form of 34; Mithraic 37 n. 96

Capital, "Doric" 14, 57-58 (**10**), Fig. 31
Capua 30 n. 72
Casserole 17, 79 (**62**, Fig. 8), Fig. 45
Christian church: *see* Cosa: Christian church
Christians 5, 44
Cista mystica 34 and n. 84
Clement of Alexandria 28 n. 62
Clubhouse 5, 18, 19 n. 27, 21: *see also* Cosa: shrine of Liber Pater
Coins 5, 7, 14, 15-16, 86-89 (**75-103**)
Cologne 31 n. 32
Constantine, House of: *see* House of Constantine
Constantius II, coins of 16, 86 (**76-77**)
Cooking ware 78-79; flat-bottomed pan 79 (**62**, Fig. 8), Fig. 45; lid, 17, 79 (**63**, Fig. 8), Fig. 46; pot, 78 Fig. 7, 78-79 (**61**), Fig. 44: *see also* Casserole; Pottery
Cosa 3, 4, 5, 9, 16 n. 15, 44, 49, 57
  basilica 4, 5; as Christian church 5
  Christian church 5, 44 n. 123; paving in 13 n. 9
  entryway (forum): converted into shrine of Liber pater 5, 16; façade of 7, 9-10; paving of 8, 10, 13; wall plaster in 8, 12-13; walls belonging to 7, 8, 9 and n. 5
  forum 4, 5; in late antiquity 5, 16 and n. 15

  history of 3-5, 16 n. 15
  mithraeum 23, 44 n. 123
  Mithraism in 44 n. 123
  portico (forum): in front of shrine 7; paving of, in relation to shrine 10
  shrine of Liber Pater: as clubhouse for Bacchic association 3, 5, 7, 18, 23; condition when excavated 7-13; as *stibadium* 23, 45
Couch dining 18, 23; in *mithraea* 18, 23; in Sanctuary of Bacchus and Ariadne, Pompeii 23; in shrine of Liber Pater 11, 12, 13, 23; στιβάς 19, 20 n. 27
Cups 7, 17, 72-73; three handles 73 (**46**), Fig. 40; two handles 72-73 (**43-45**, Fig. 4), Fig. 39: *see also* Pottery
Cybele 29, 30 n. 70, 33, 38
Cyme 19 n. 27

Delphi 27
Demeter 29
Demosthenes 33 n. 76, 42 n. 109
Diana 51
Dining couch: *see* Couch, dining
Diodorus Siculus 28, 42-43
Dionysiac Mysteries 18 and n. 19, 28 and n. 63, 34
Dionysos *dimorphos* 42 n. 113, 43
Dionysus: dismemberment of, by Titans 27-28; herm of 7, 14, 17, 24, 52-53 (**4**), Fig. 25: *see also* Bacchus; Liber Pater
Dionysus-Zagreus 27
Dots, raised 68 (**35**), 69 (**36-38**)
Drinking party 18, 19; buildings where held 19-23, 38; represented in art 18

Eleusinian Mysteries 30 and n. 70
Entryway: *see* Cosa: entryway (forum)
Euripides 33, 34 nn. 81, 83, 86, 41 n. 106, 42 n. 109
Faimingen 31 n. 72
Firmicus Maternus 28 n. 62
Fish 64 (**21**)
Forum: *see* Cosa: forum

Galen 34
Gorgoneion 35, 37 n. 96, 55, 83, 85 (**72b**), Fig. 61
Graces, Three 36, 37; associated with Dionysus 37 n. 95

Heads, female 14, 17, 29, 50-52 (**2, 3**), Figs. 23-24
Hekataion 36 and n. 94, 85 (**72c**), Fig. 62
Hekate 36 and n. 94, 37 and n. 96; and Dionysus 36 and n. 94; and Mithraism 37 n. 96
Helios 38
Herakles: colossal statue of, by Lysippos 24; Epitrapezios 24, 54 nn. 10-11: *see also* Hercules
Hercules: associated with Bacchus 24-27, 38, 39; in Bacchic *thiasos* 25, 26; *bibax* 25; bust of 14, 17, 24, 38, 53-54 (**5**), Fig. 26; eating or drinking with Dionysus 25; repose of 25, 26; representations of 24-25, 27, 39: *see also* Herakles
Herm of Dionysus 7, 14, 17, 24, 52-53 (**4**), Fig. 25
Homeric House: *see* Pompeii: Homeric House
Honorius coins of 16, 88 (**93**)
Horse 63 (**18**)
House of Constantine, coins of 16, 87 (**78-83**)
House of the Cryptoporticus: *see* Pompeii: House of the Cryptoporticus
Human figure 62 (**15**)

Inscription 7, 14, 24, 56-57 (**9**), Fig. 30
Iobacchi 18, 19, 20 n. 27, 21, 23, 36 n. 94
Isis 38, 39; Sanctuary of, at Pompeii 39
Janiculum 39

Jugs 7, 17, 73-77; biconical 75 Fig. 6, 75-76 (**48-53**), Fig. 41; globular 75 Fig. 6, 76-77 (**54-55**), Fig. 41; with high neck 74 (**47**, Fig. 5); miniature 77 (**56-58**), Figs. 42-43: *see also* Pottery

Kantharos 17, 50, 62 (**16**), 68 (**33**, **34**)
Kernos 29, 30 and n. 70, 40; found in shrine 17, 24, 33, 38, 44, 81 Fig. 9 top, 82 (**69-70**), Fig. 51
Kore, Demeter and 29
Kraters, as ritual vessels 29, 30 and n. 70, 30-31 n. 72, 32 and n. 73: *see also* Pottery; Ritual vessels

Lamps 7, 14, 15, 18, 59-71
  African 60-64 (**13-23**), Figs. 34-35; with bird 61 (**13**), Fig. 35; with fish 64 (**21**); with horse 63 (**83**); Fig. 34; with human figure 62 (**15**); with *kantharos* 62 (**16**), Fig. 34; with rooster 62 (**17**); with rosette 63 (**20**); with running animal 62 (**15**); with sheep 61 (**13**), fig. 35; with shell 61 (**14**), Fig. 34; 64 (**22**), Fig. 35; with tongues 64 (**23**), Fig. 35
  African, copies of 64-67 (**24-32**), Fig. 36; with palm branch 66 (**25**), Fig. 36; with pomegranate 66 (**25**), Fig. 36; with rosette 67 (**31**), Fig. 36; with running animal 66 (**27**); with wild boar 66 (**28**)
  Alpha Globule 70-71 (**42**), Fig. 38
  Broneer Type XXVIII 67-69 (**33-38**), Fig. 37; with *kantharos* 68 (**33**, **34**), Fig. 37; with raised dots 68 (**35**), Fig. 37; 69 (**36-38**)
  Factory 70 (**40-41**), Fig. 38
  Late 69-70 (**39-40**), Fig. 38; with radiating lines 69 (**39**), Fig. 38
Lauriacum 32 n. 72
Leptis Magna 26
Libera 29; identified with Venus 29 n. 68
Liber Pater 5, 7, 17, 29 n. 68; name on inscription 7, 17, 57; *sacrarium* of, along Via Cassia 27, 39; shrine dedicated to 5, 17: *see also* Bacchus; Dionysus
Licinius II, coins of 15, 16, 86 (**75**)
Liknon 41
Lines, radiating 69 (**39**)
Linz 31 n. 72
Lizard 35, 37 and n. 96, 40, 43; on ritual vessels 17, 32, 33, 35, 37 and n. 96, 40, 43, 83, 85 (**72a**), Fig. 60
Lycophron, Scholium of 28 n. 62
Lydus 42 n. 112
Lysippos 24, 54; colossal statue of Herakles by 24; Herakles Epitrapezios by 24, 54 nn. 10-11

Macedonia 26
Macrobius 28 n. 63, 42 n. 112
Maenad 33
Magna Mater 30, 39; Sanctuary of, at Ostia 39
Magnesia on the Maeander 21, 22
Maros-Lekencze 31 n. 72
Mater 57
Meal, sacred: *see* Sacred meal
Minerva: association with Bacchus 27-29; attributes of, on relief 14-15, 17, 24, 27, 49, 55-56 (**7**), Fig. 28; and Mithraism 37 n. 96: *see also* Athena
Mithra 33, 37 n. 96, 38
Mithraeum 18, 32, 33, 37 n. 96, 39: *see also* Cosa: *mithraeum*
Mithraism 37-38 n. 96; at Cosa, 44 n. 123
Muses 51

Nassenfels 31 n. 72
Neoplatonism 38
Neoplatonists 27
Nymph 36, 37, 51

Oecus 20 and n. 28
Olympias 33
Opus signinum 8, 10, 11 n. 6, 13
Orpheus 28
Orphism 28, 29
Osiris 38
Ostia: Sanctuary of Magna Mater 39

Palm branch 66 (**25**)
Pausanias 34 n. 87, 37 n. 95
Paving: of earlier entryway 10, 13; of interior of shrine 13; of portico in front of shrine 10
Pedestal for basin 14 n. 11 (**6**), Fig. 27
Pentheus 34
Pergamon: Attaleion of Craton 22; στιβάδειον in 20, 21, 22
Persephone 27, 42
Pettau 32 n. 73, 35 n. 91
Pindar 37 n. 95
Plaster, wall: on exterior of façade 10; on Late Antique constructions 13; on walls of original entryway 8, 12-13
Plutarch 28 n. 63, 33 n. 76, 34 n. 87, 37 n. 95, 42 n. 112
Pocking 31 n. 72
Poetovio: *see* Pettau
Pomegranate 66 (**25**)
Pompeii: Homeric House, 20; House of the Cryptoporticus 20; private houses where Bacchic ceremonies held 20; ritual vessels with snakes from 30 n. 72, 44 n. 122; Sanctuary of Bacchus and Ariadne 22-23; Sanctuary of Isis 39; Villa of the Mysteries 20
Portico: *see* Cosa: portico (forum)
Pottery 14, 15, 17, 18, 38, 71-86
Praxiteles 50; Aphrodite of Knidos by 50
Proclus 28 n. 62
Ptolemy Philadelphus 33

Relief with attributes of Minerva 14-15, 17, 24, 27, 49, 55-56 (**7**), Fig. 28
Reuse of earlier material in late antiquity 14, 24, 38, 40, 49
Revetment with plane leaves 14 n. 11, 56 (**8**), Fig. 29
Ritual vessels: *see also* Pottery
  associated with shrine: with lamp on handle 30 n. 70, 85-86 (**74**), Figs. 65-66; with snakes and other motives 15, 82-86 (**71-74**), Figs. 52-66
  found in shrine 7, 15, 17, 24, 29, 32-33, 38 and n. 96, 43, 44, 79-82 (**64-70**, Fig. 9 bottom) Frontispiece, Figs. 47-51; with snakes 32-33, 38, 40-41, 43-44, 80-82 (**64-68**, Fig. 9 bottom), Frontispiece, Figs. 47-50
  with snakes (general) 30-33
Rome: Mithraeum of Santa Prisca 30 n. 72; Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods 39; *stibadia* in 21
Rooster 62 (**17**)
Rosette 63 (**20**), 67 (**31**)
Rudus 8, 10, 13

Saalburg 31 n. 72
Sabazius 35, 40-44; association with Dionysus 40-44
Sacrarium 19, 20; of Bacchus along Via Cassia 27, 39
Sacred meal 18, 19, 42; buildings where held 19-23, 38; funerary 18; representations of 18
Scholium of Lycophron 28 n. 62
Semele 26
Sheep 61 (**13**)
Shell 61 (**14**), 64 (**22**)
Shrine of Liber Pater: *see* Cosa: shrine of Liber Pater
Skopas: Meleager by 50
Small finds 14, 89-91 (**104-109**), Figs. 67-70
Snake 33, 34, 37 n. 96, 41
  associated with Dionysus 33-34
  associated with Sabazius 41
  Dionysus in form of 34
  Mithraic 32, 37 n. 96

  representations of, in *mithraea* 30-31 n. 72, 32, 37 n. 96
  on ritual vessels (general) 17, 30, 32, 33, 41; associated with shrine 83-84 (**71.1-7**), Figs. 52-59; found in shrine 32-33, 38, 40-41, 43-44, 80-82 (**64-68**, Fig. 9 bottom), Frontispiece, Figs. 47-50
Snakehandling 33, 34
Spout, water 14, 59 (**12**), Fig. 33
Στιβάδειον 19, 20, 21; in Pergamon 20, 21-22
Stibadium 19, 20, 21, 23, 45
Στιβάς 19, 20 n. 27, 21
Stele, inscribed: *see* Inscription
Strabo 42 n. 112
Straubing 31 n. 72
Struppus 52, 54
Suda, The 42 n. 112
Suidas: *see* Suda, The
Syncretism 38-39 and n. 103; and cults of Dionysus 38-41
Syrian goddess 39-40 n. 105
Syrian gods 38, 39; Sanctuary of, at Rome 39

Table-support 14, 52-53 (**4**), Fig. 25: *see also* Herm of Dionysus
Taurobolium 30 n. 70
Thasos 26
Thiasos, Bacchic: Hercules in 25-26; representations of 25, 26, 34
Thrace 26
Three Graces 36, 37
Titans 26, 27
Tongues 64 (**23**)
Tournai 32 n. 72

Underworld 26, 37 n. 96
Unterbaar 32 n. 72

Valens, coins of 16, 87-88 (**86-88**)
Valentinian I, coins of 16, 87 (**84-85**)
Valentinian II, coins of 16, 88 (**90**)
Varro 29 n. 68
Veldidena 32 n. 72
Venus: association with Bacchus 29 n. 68; heads of 14, 17, 24, 29, 38, 50-52 (**2**, **3**), Figs. 23-24; identified with Libera 29 n. 68
Via Cassia 39: *see also Sacrarium* of Bacchus along Via Cassia
Vienna 32 n. 72
Villa of the Mysteries: *see* Pompeii: Villa of the Mysteries
Vindonissa 32 n. 73, 41 n. 108, 44 n. 122

Wall construction: Late Antique 10, 12; rubblework 9; squared limestone masonry 9
Wall plaster: *see* Plaster, wall
Water spout: *see* Spout, water
Winged head on ritual vessels 17: *see also* Gorgoneion

Zagreus 27
Zeus 26, 27, 42
Zoe 57

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece

Ritual Vessel with Snakes, Cat. No. 65

Text Figures

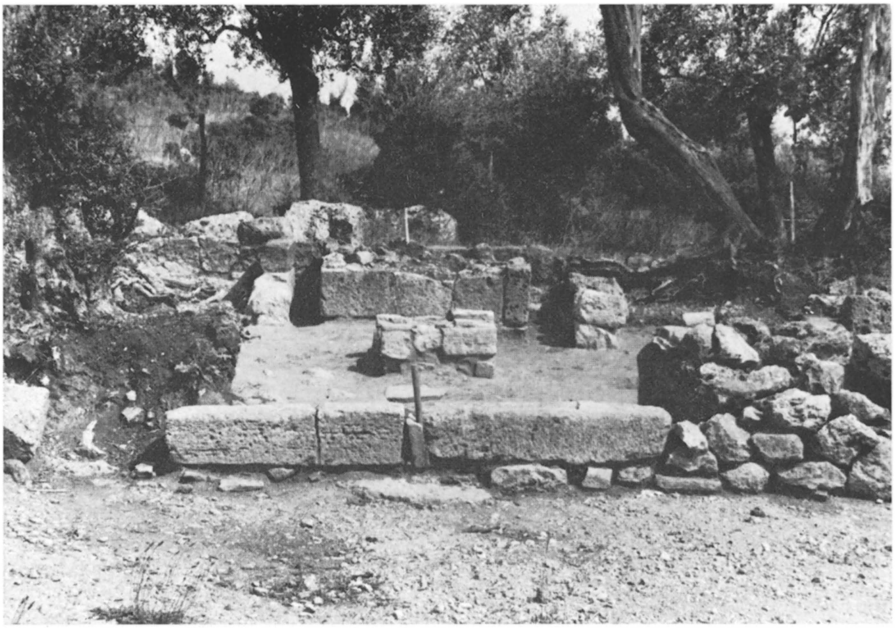
1. Plan of Forum Area, Fourth Century A.D. Key to numbers: (1) church, (2) houses, (3) threshing floor, (4) ovens, (5) barns (?), (6) mithraeum, (7) shrine of Liber Pater
2. Plan of Shrine, Actual State
3. Plan of Shrine, Restored
4. Two-handled Cup, Cat. No. 43
5. High-necked Jug, Cat. No. 47
6. Left: Globular Jug, Cat. No. 55;
   Right: Biconical Jug, Cat. No. 51
7. Pot, Cat. No. 61
8. Flat-bottomed Pan and Lid, Cat. Nos. 62-63
9. Top: Kernos, Cat. No. 69; Bottom: Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 65

Plates

10. Façade, center: sill blocks above column plinth
11. Back wall, foundation and socle, from E
12. Right wall, foundation and socle at S. corner
13. Back wall, detail of foundation and socle between quoin blocks
14. Façade, left end
15. Façade, right end with exterior plaster
16. View of central portion of shrine, from front
17. Interior paving preserved near façade at left side of building; test pit of 1967 in left foreground
18. View of right side of shrine, from back towards front
19. View of right side of shrine from front; alcove in foreground
20. Altar as found
21. Left wall with plaster and paving
22. Statue of Bacchus, Cat. No. 1

23. Female Head, Cat. No. 2
24. Female Bust, Cat. No. 3
25. Herm of Dionysus, Cat. No. 4
26. Bust of Hercules, Cat. No. 5
27. Pedestal Base, Cat. No. 6
28. Relief with Attributes of Minerva, Cat. No. 7
29. Relief with Plane Leaves, Cat. No. 8
30. Inscription, Cat. No. 9
31. "Doric" Column Capital, Cat. No. 10
32. Antefix, Cat. No. 11
33. Water Spout, Cat. No. 12
34. African Lamps, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 18, 16, 20, 14
35. African Lamps, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 22, 23, 13
36. Copies of African Lamps, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 29, 31, 25
37. Lamps, Broneer Type XXVIII, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 33, 35
38. Miscellaneous Lamps, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 41, 40, 42, 39
39. Cups with Two Handles, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 44, 43, 45
40. Cup with Three Handles, Cat. No. 46
41. Jugs, Left to Right, Cat. Nos. 49, 51, 55
42. Miniature Jug, Cat. No. 56
43. Miniature Jug, Cat. No. 57
44. Pot, Cat. No. 61
45. Flat-bottomed Pan, Cat. No. 62
46. Lid, Cat. No. 63
47. Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 64
48. Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 65
49. Fragments of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 67
50. Applied Snake Belonging to Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 68
51. Kernos, Cat. No. 69
52. Snake on Wall of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 71.1a
53. Head of Snake on Rim of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 71.1b
54. Snake on Handle of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 71.2a
55. Snake on Handle of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 71.3b
56. Fragment of Snake, Cat. No. 71.4
57. Fragment of Snake, Cat. No. 71.5
58. Snake on Wall of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 71.6
59. Fragment of Snake, Cat. No. 71.7

60. Lizard on Wall of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 72a
61. Face on Wall of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 72b
62. Three Women on Wall of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 72c
63. Applied and Incised Motifs below Rim of Ritual Vessel, Cat. Nos. 73a, b
64. Applied and Incised Motifs below Rim of Ritual Vessel, Cat. No. 73c
65. Handle of Ritual Vessel with Lamp on Top, from the side, Cat. No. 74
66. Handle of Ritual Vessel with Lamp on Top, from above, Cat. No. 74
67. Gaming Piece, Cat. No. 104
68. Glass Bead, Cat. No. 105
69. Lead Weight, Cat. No. 106
70. Bronze Attachment, Cat. No. 109



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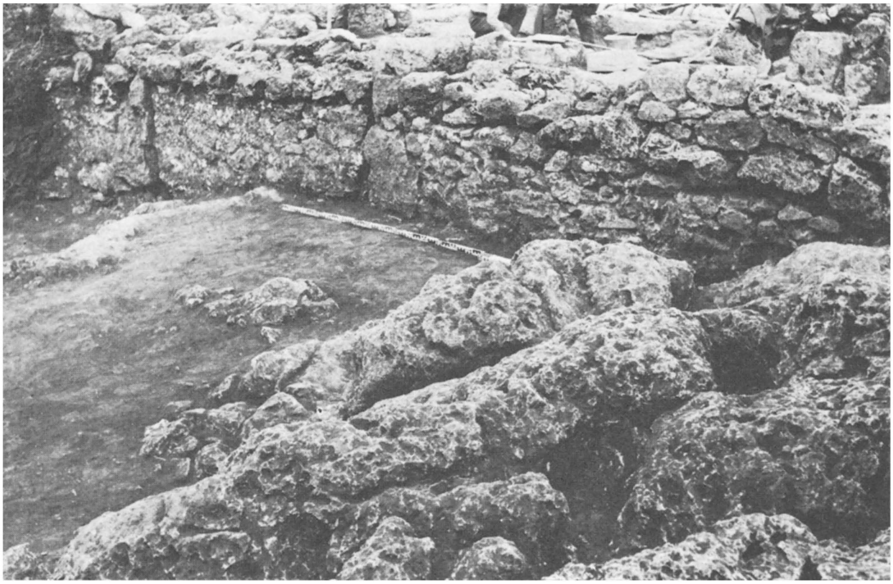

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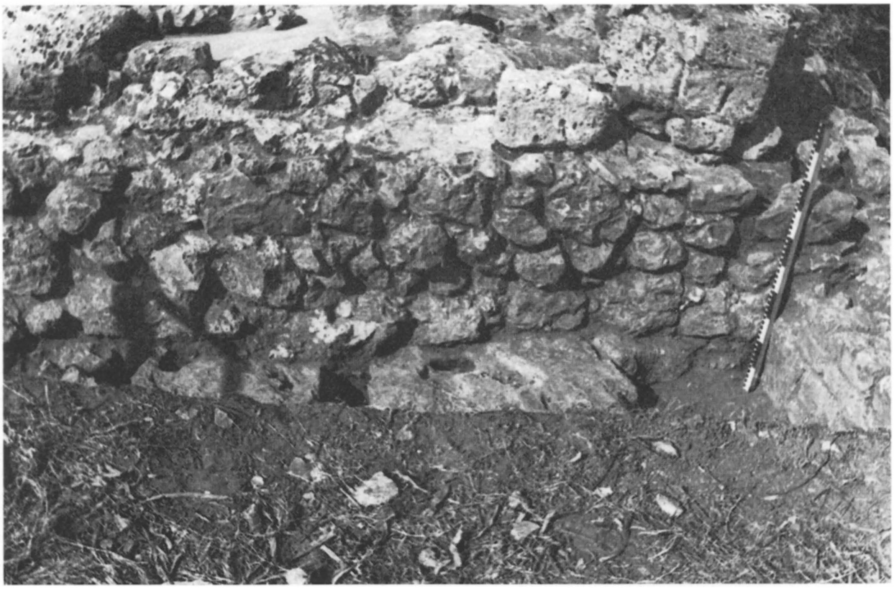

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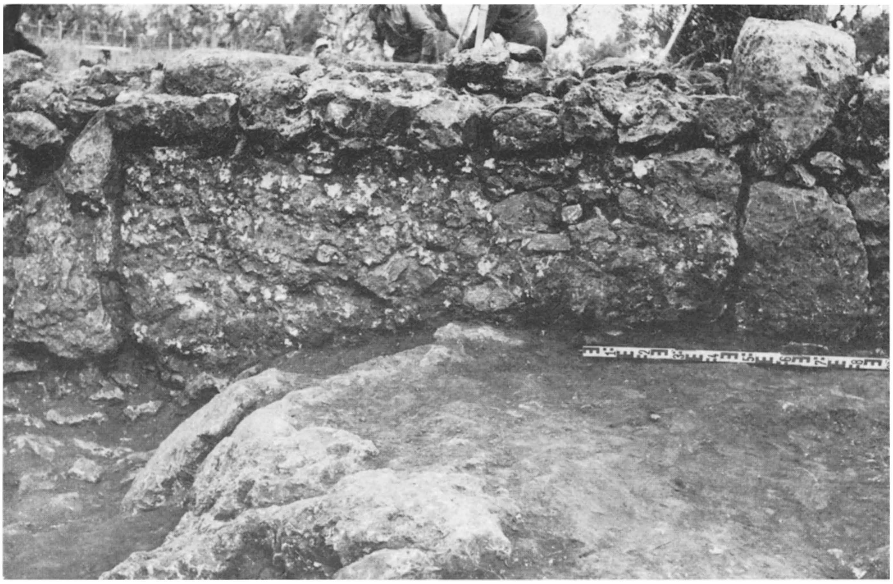


Fig. 13

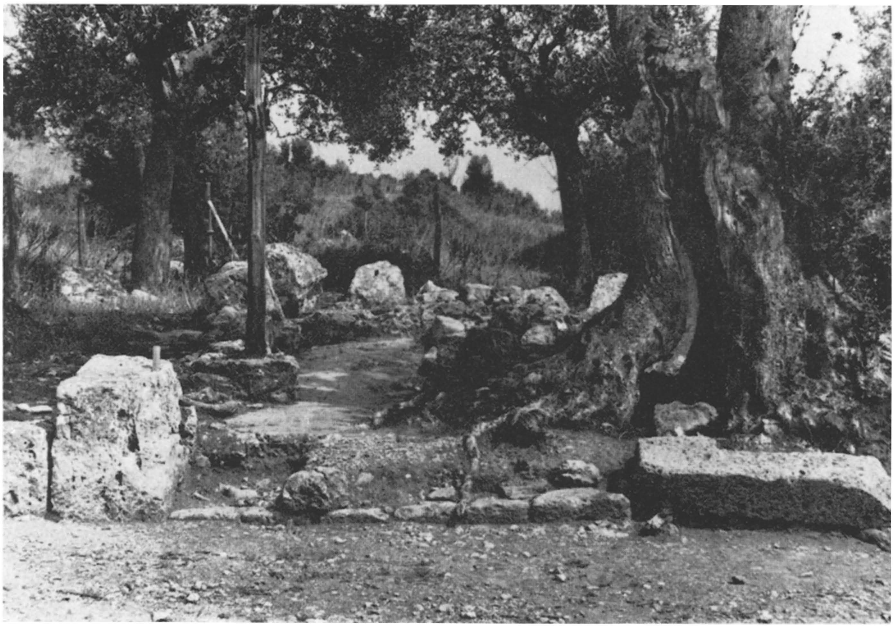


Fig. 14

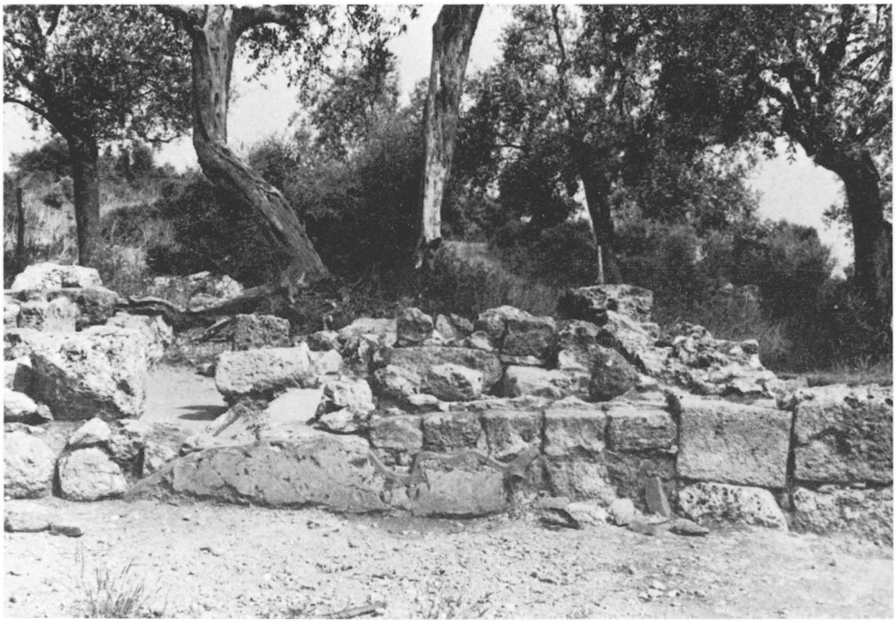
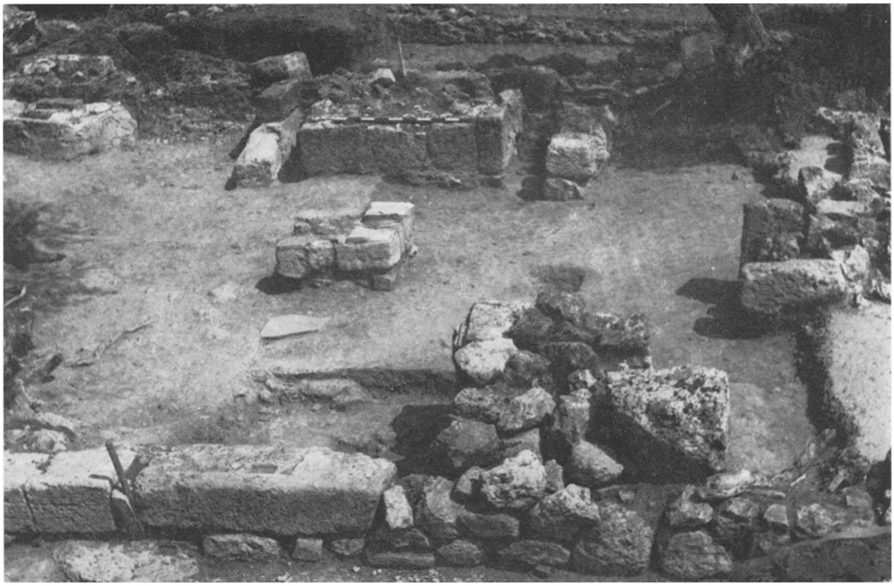


Fig. 15



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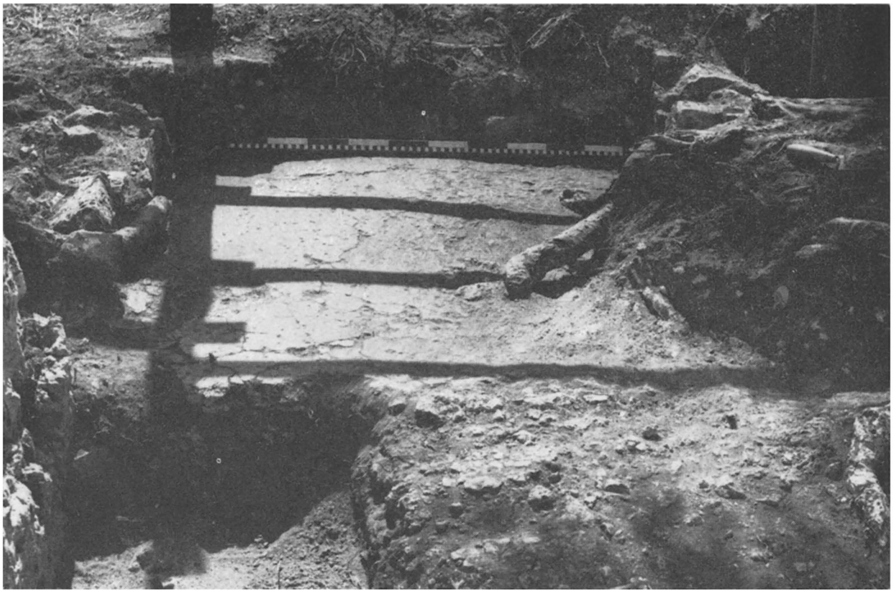

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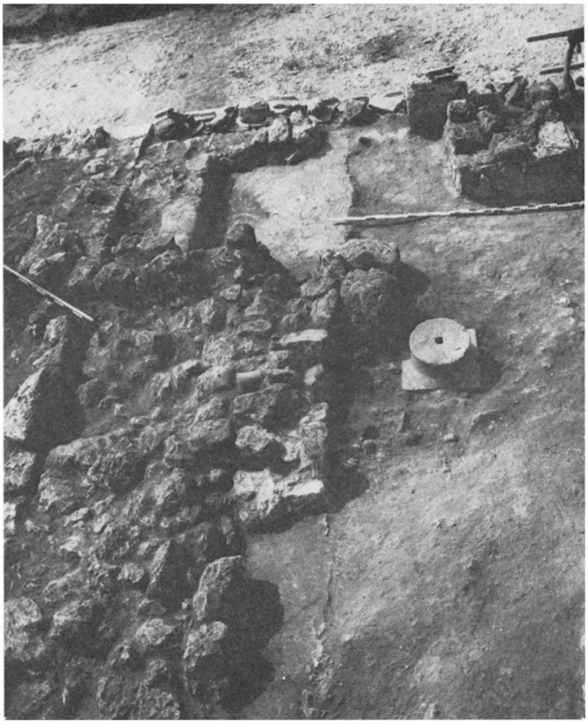

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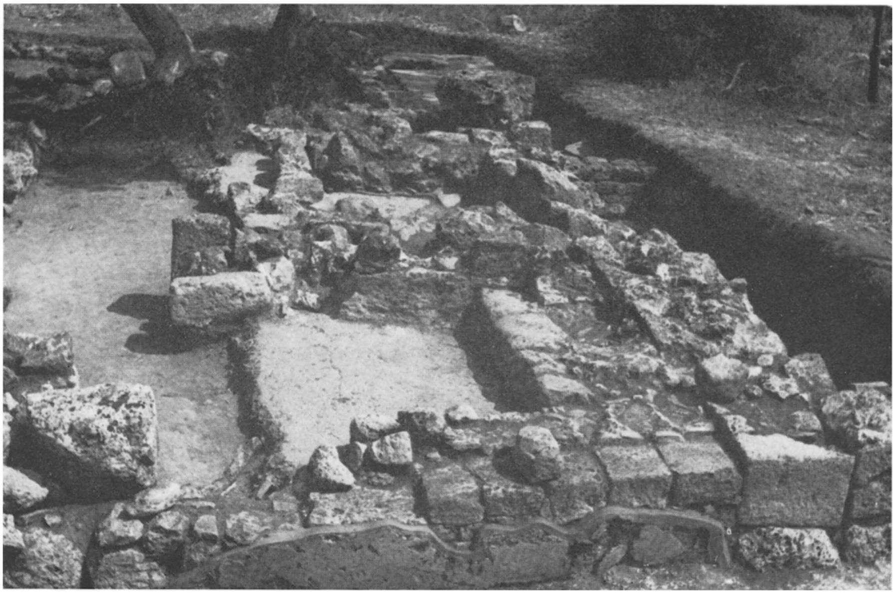
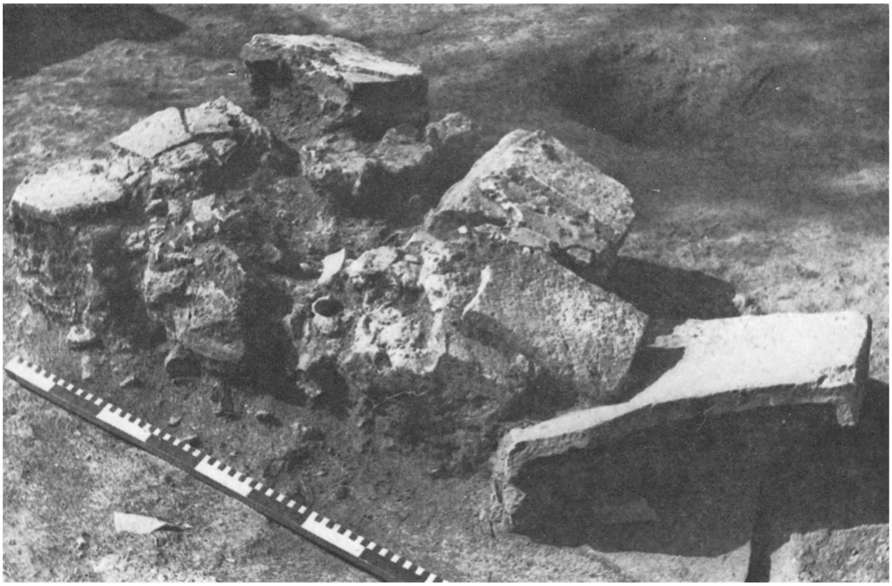


Fig. 19

PLATE VI



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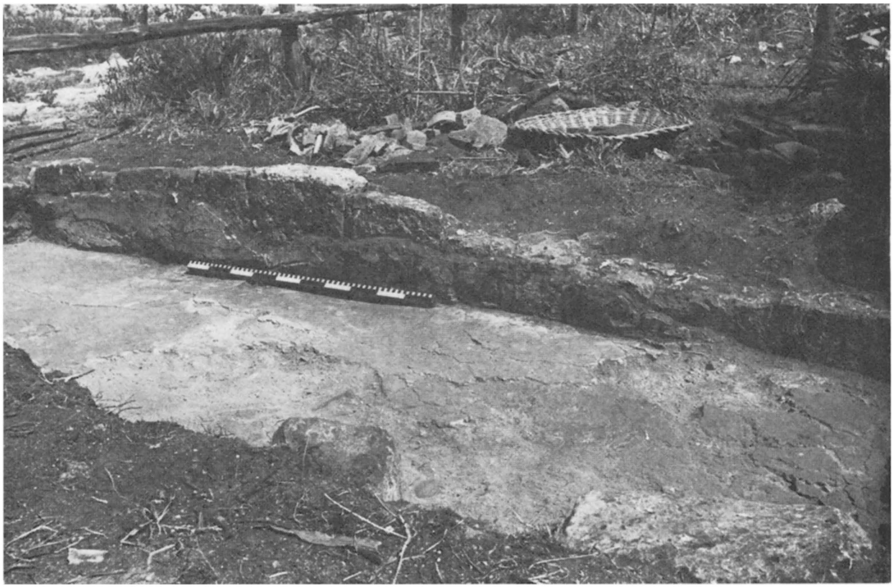

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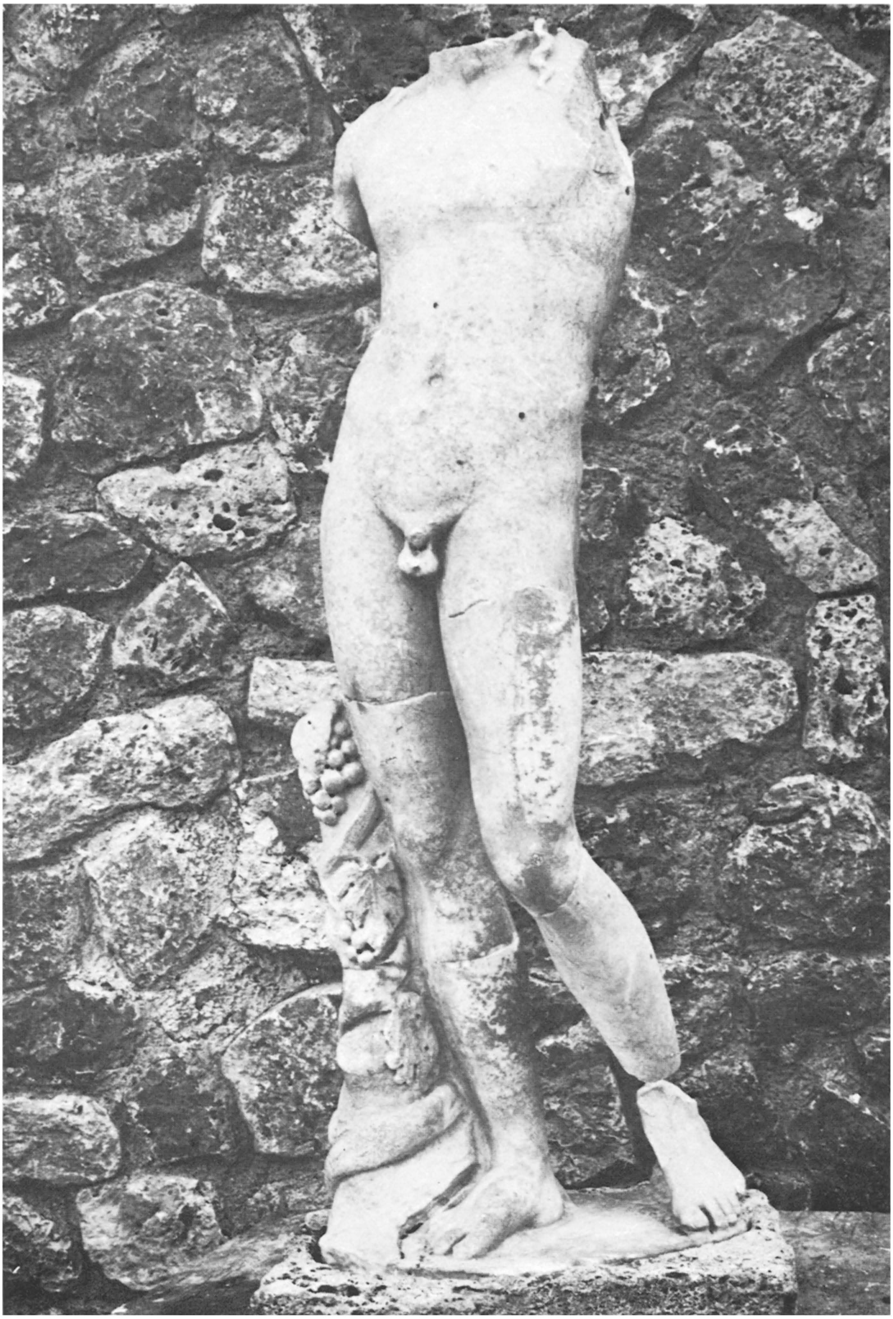
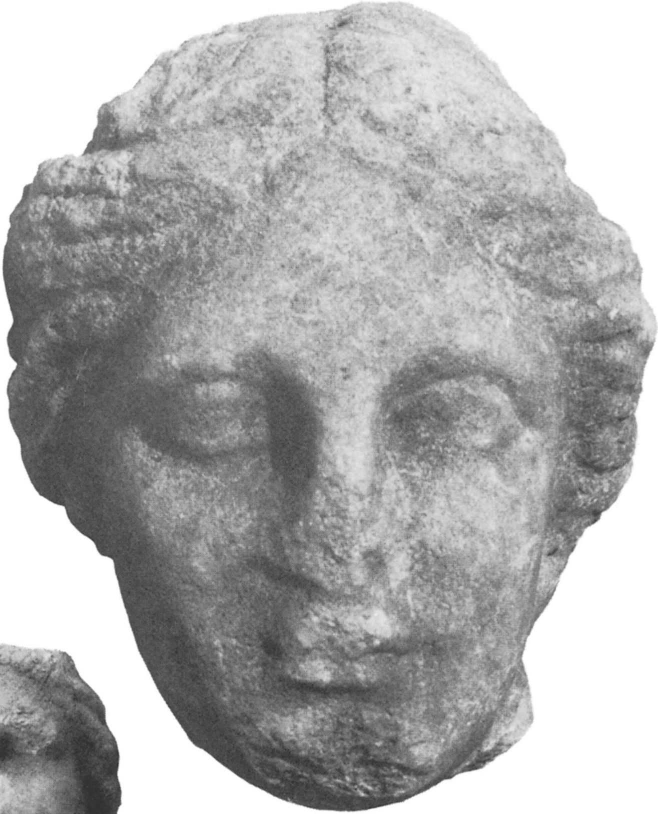


Fig. 22

PLATE VIII



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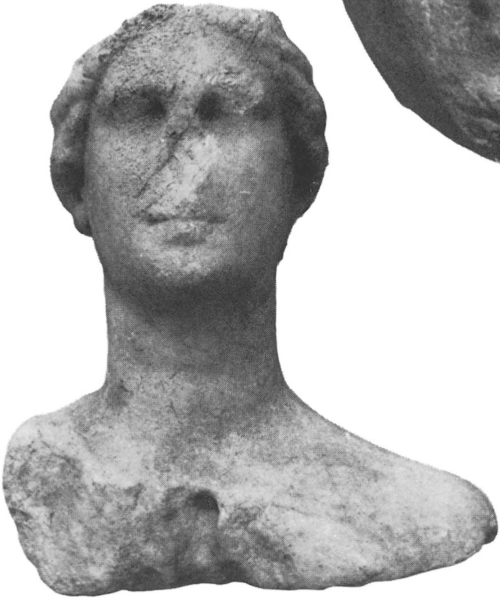

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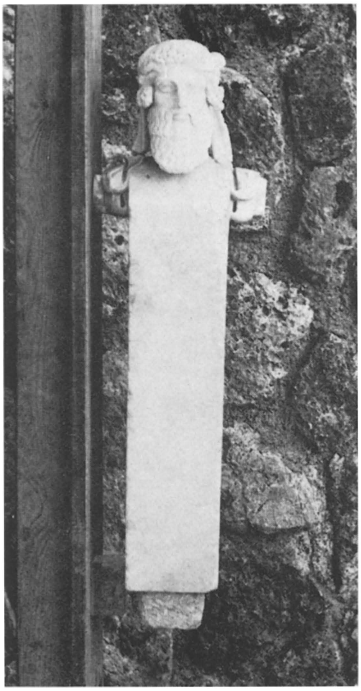

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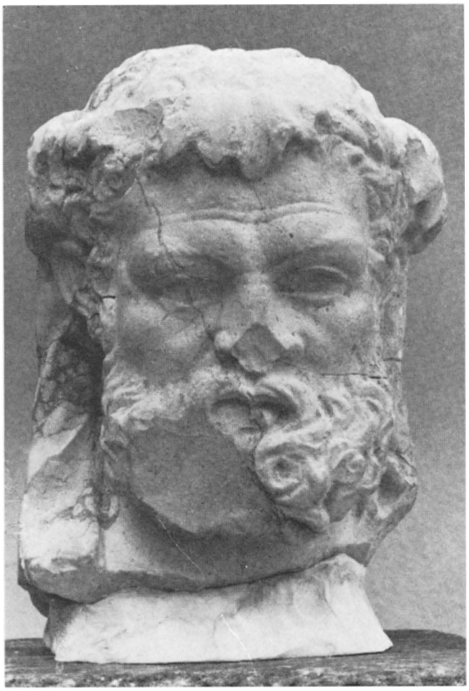

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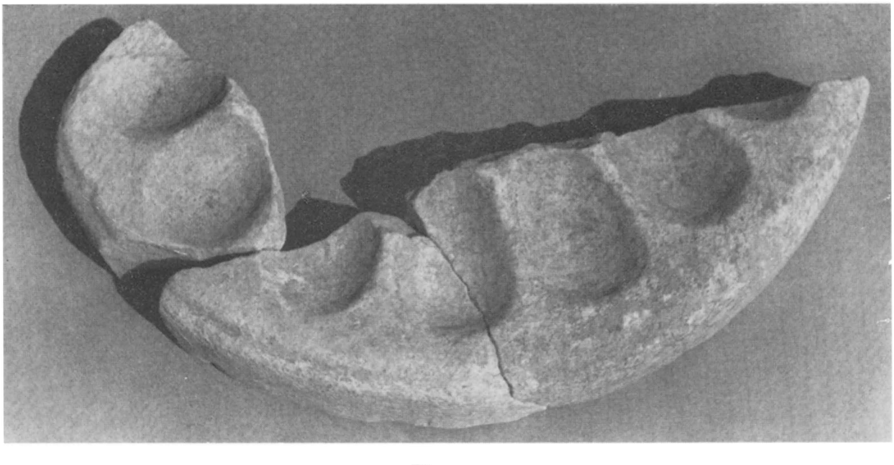

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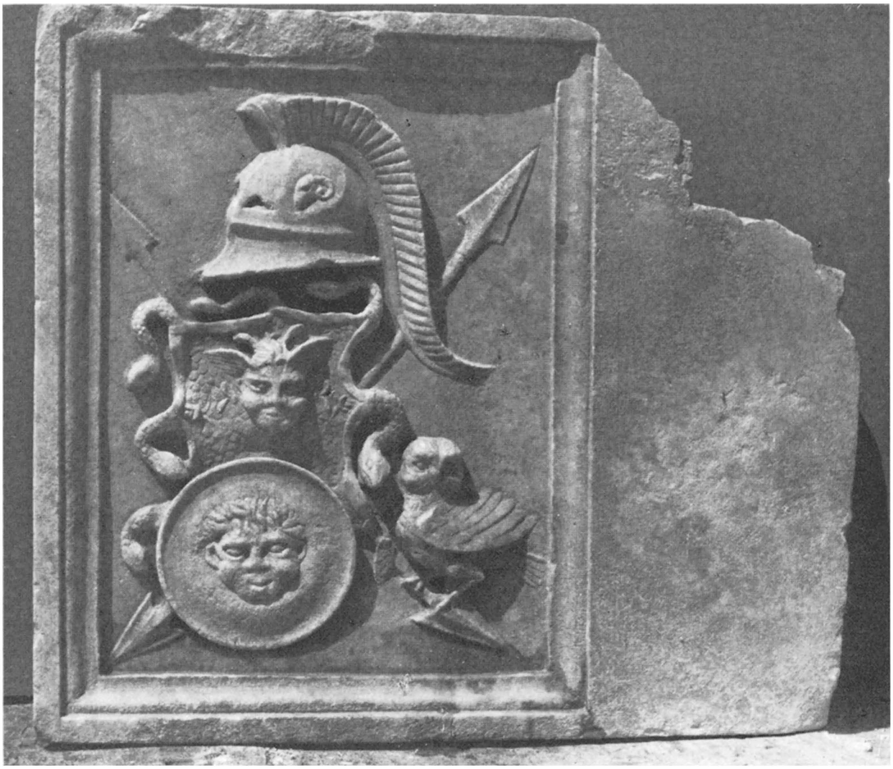

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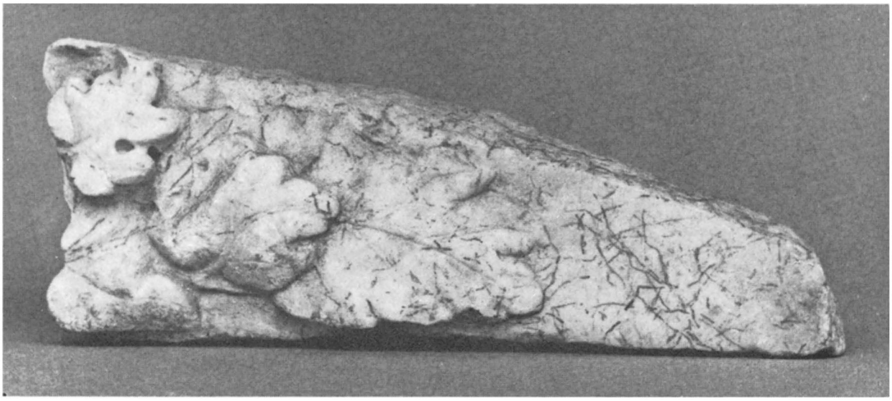

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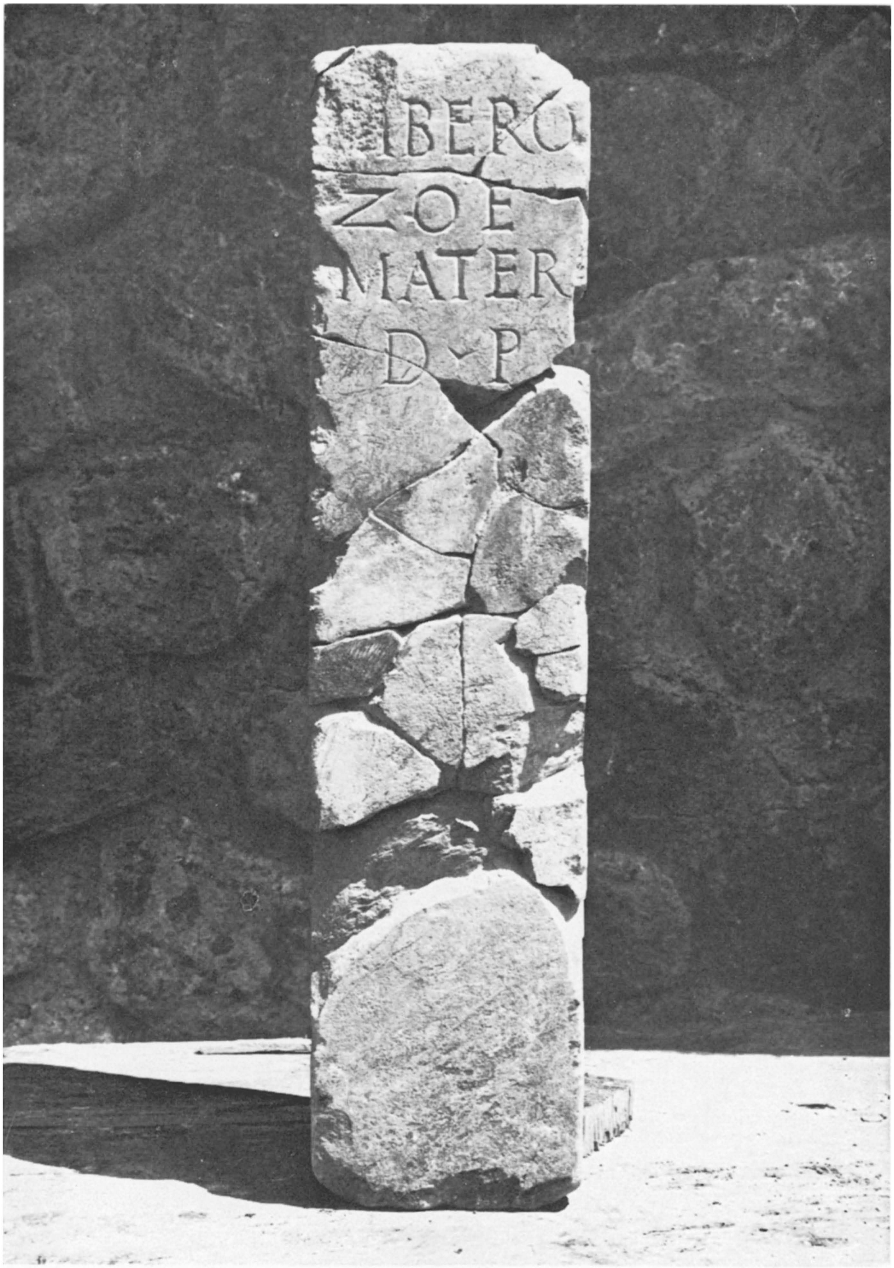
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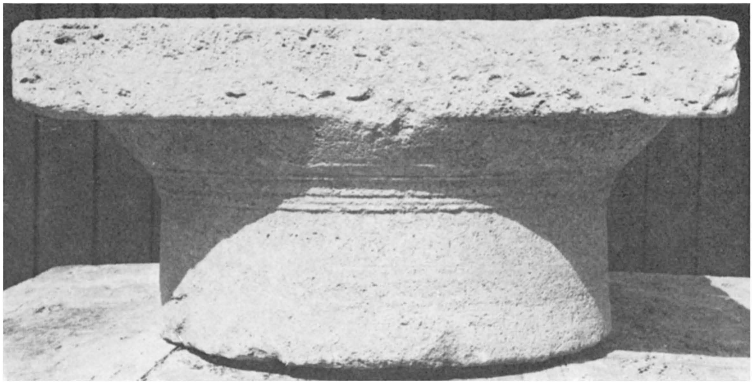
Fig. 30



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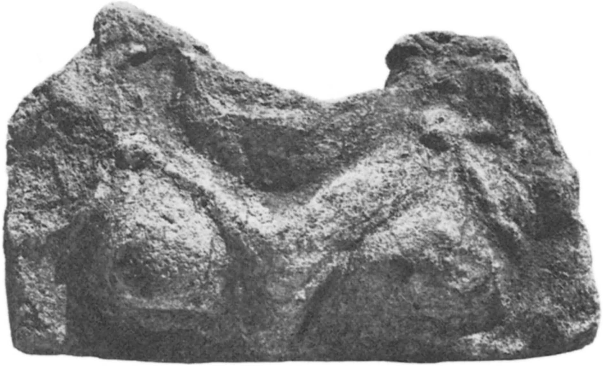

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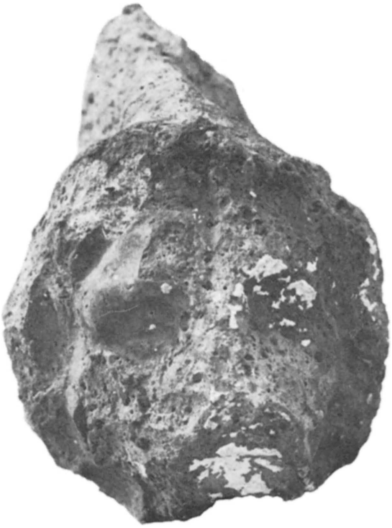

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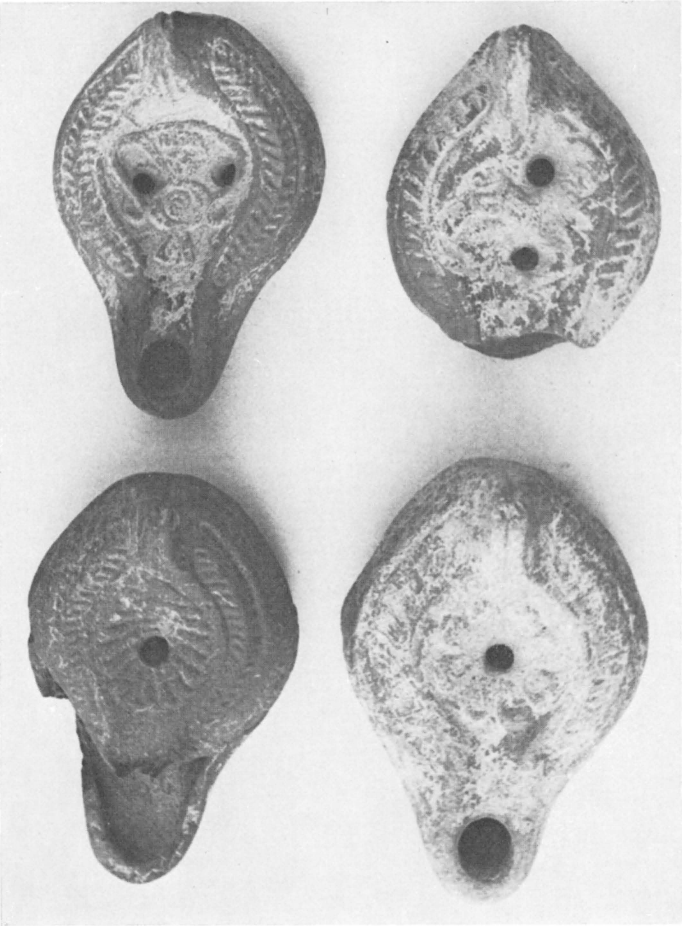

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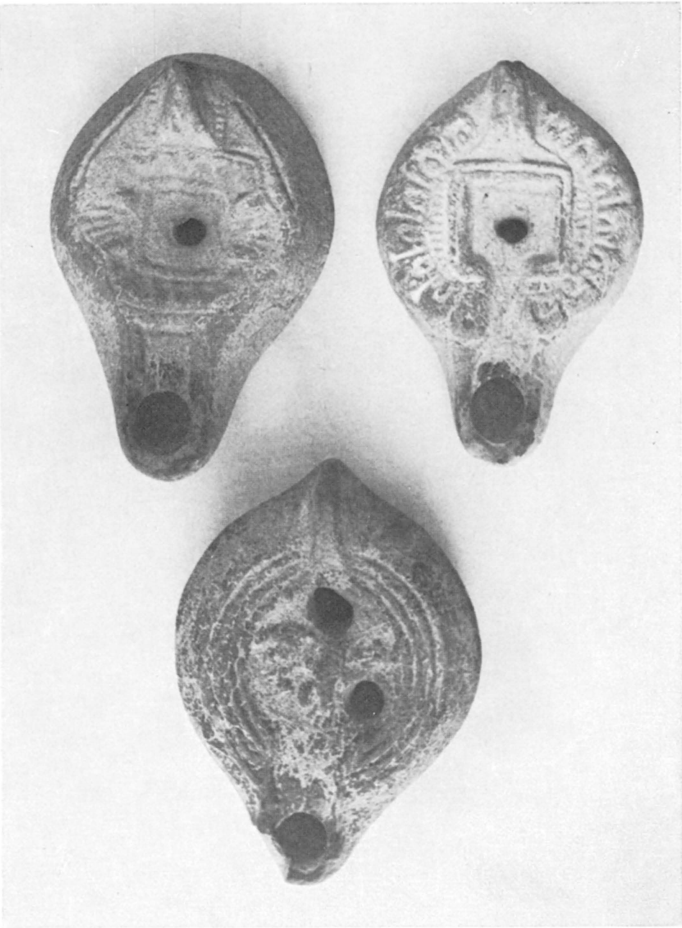

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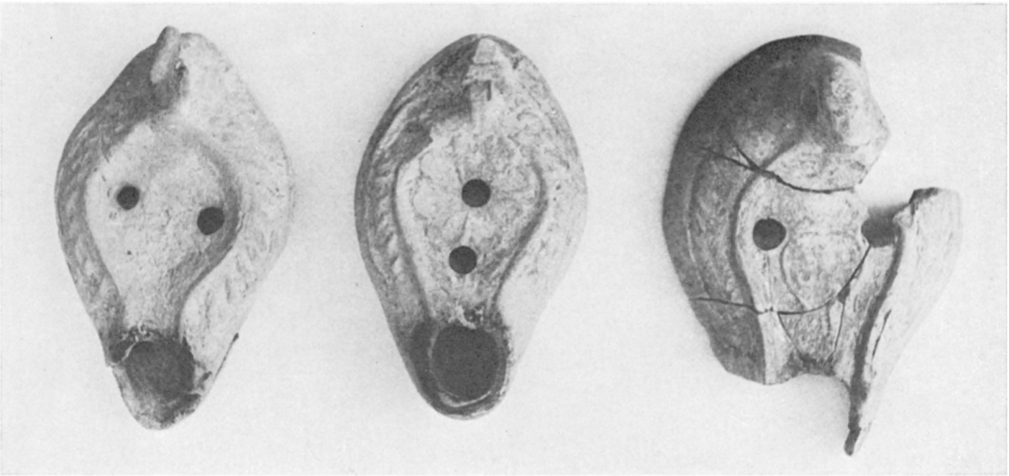

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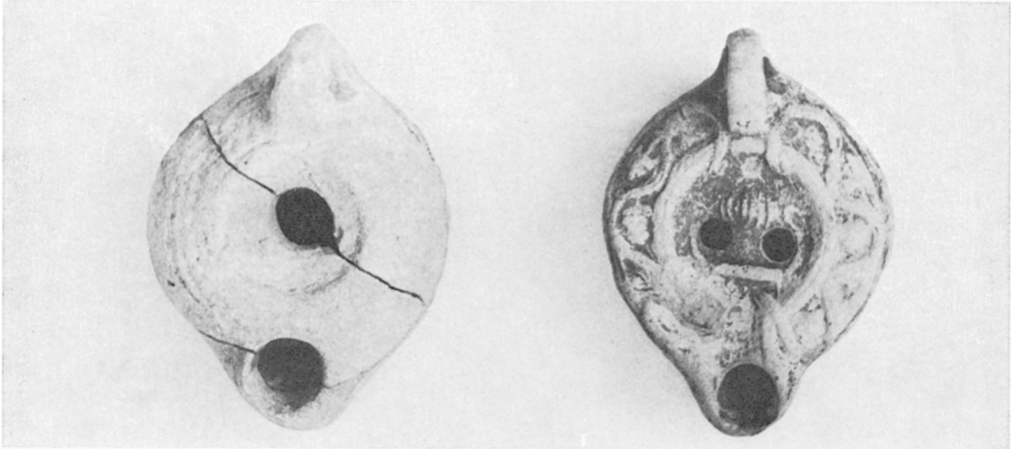

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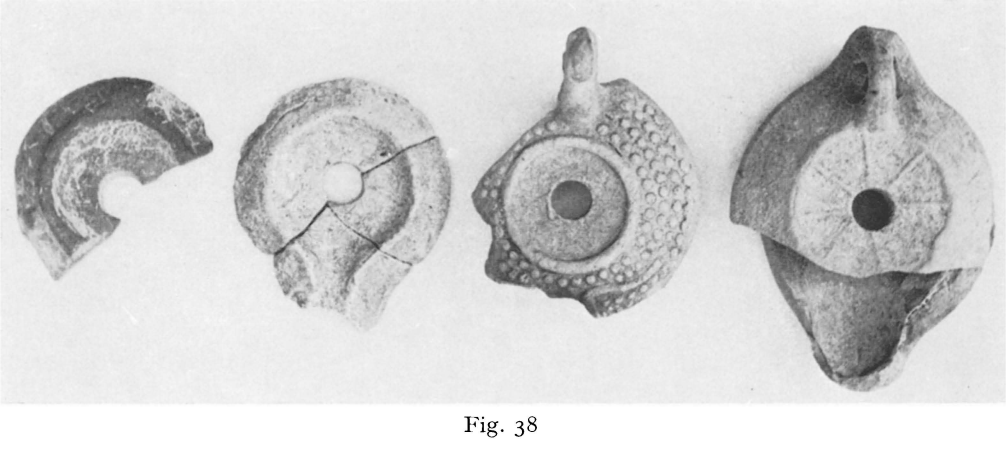

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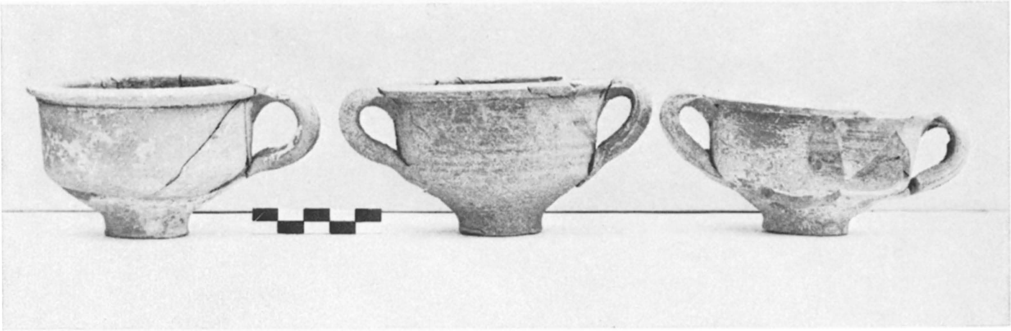

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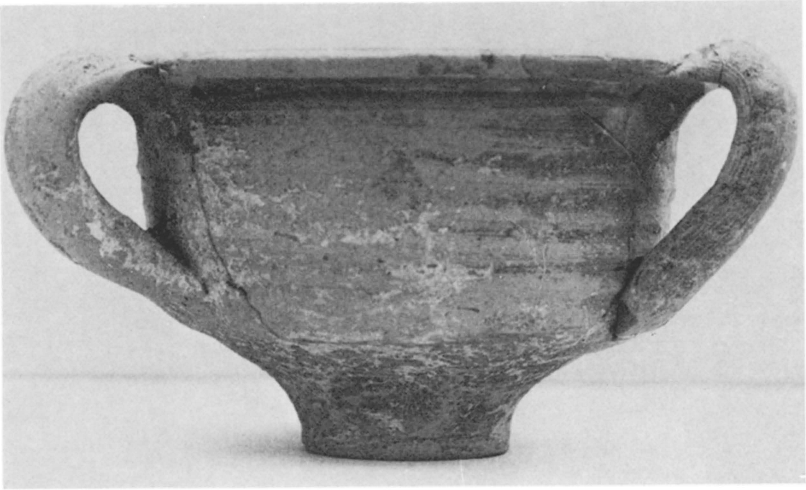

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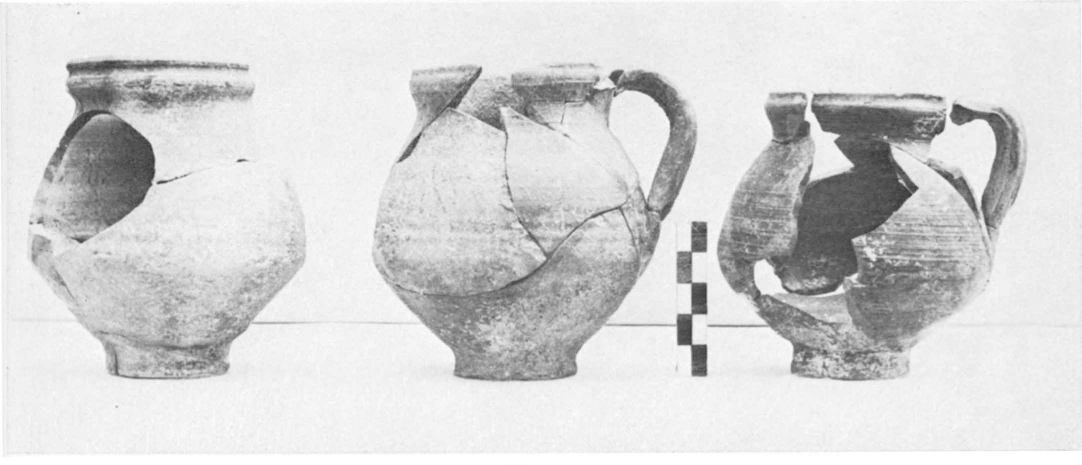
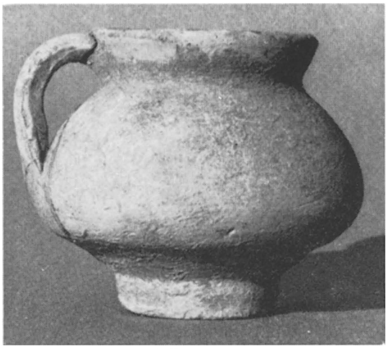


Fig. 41

PLATE XVI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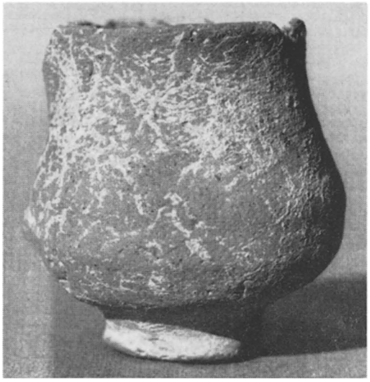
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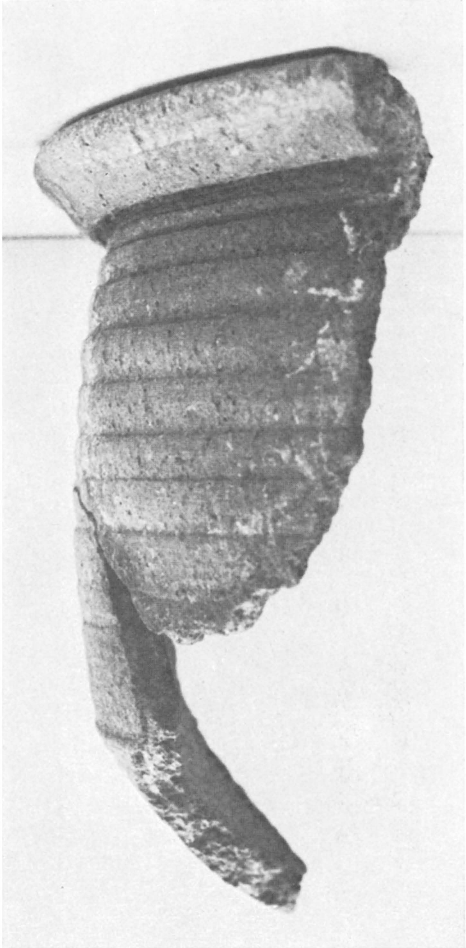
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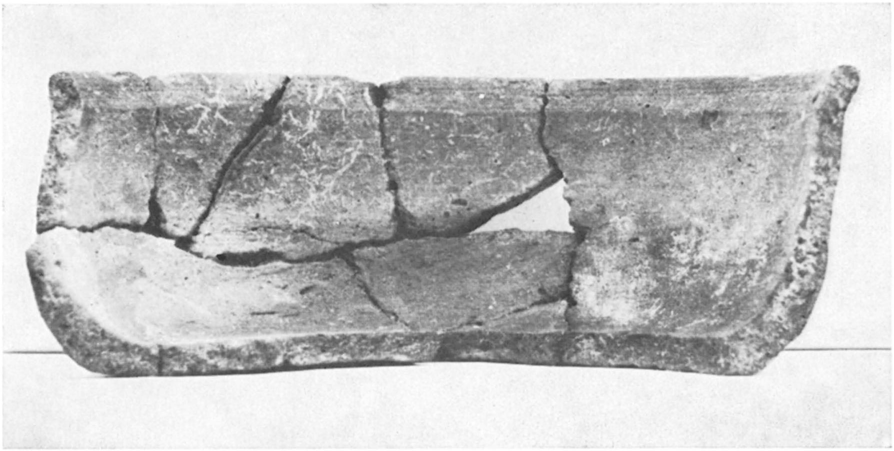

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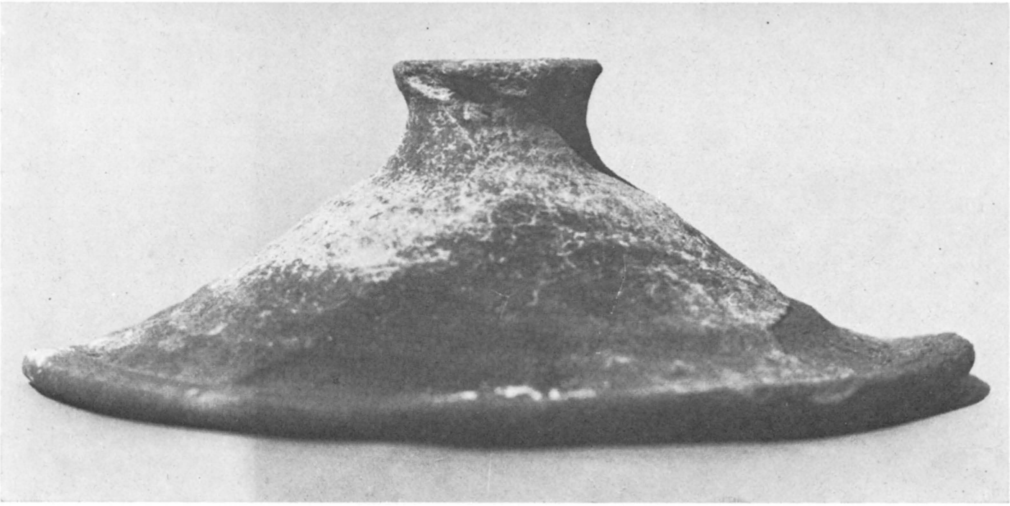

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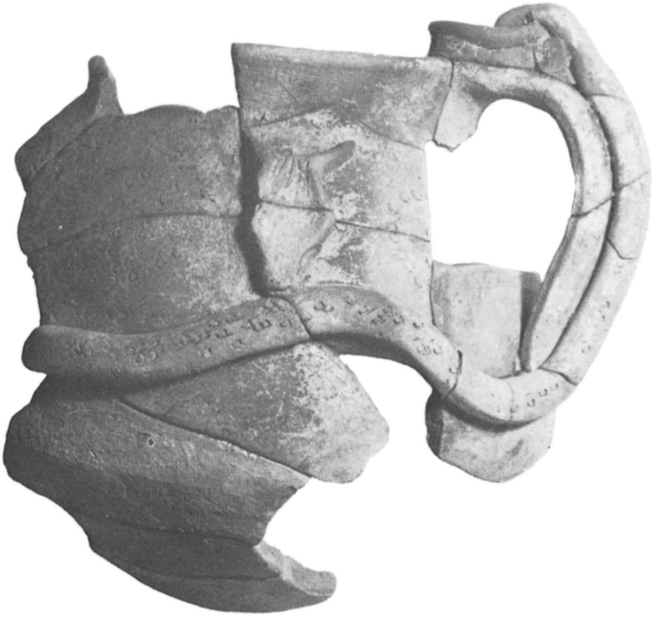

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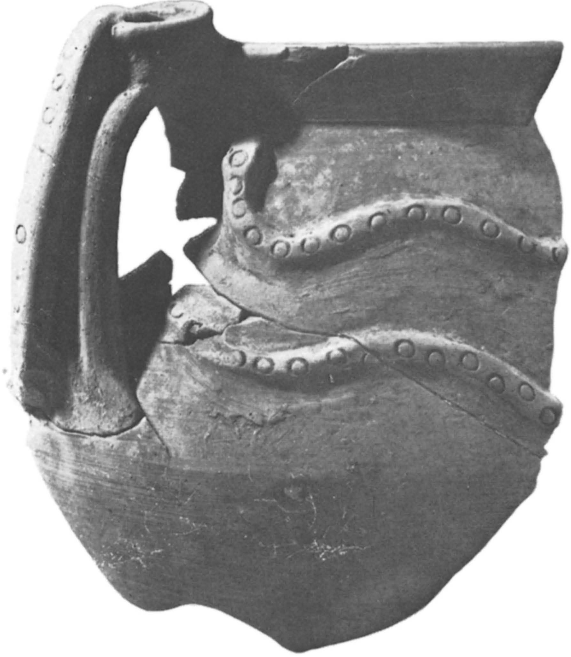

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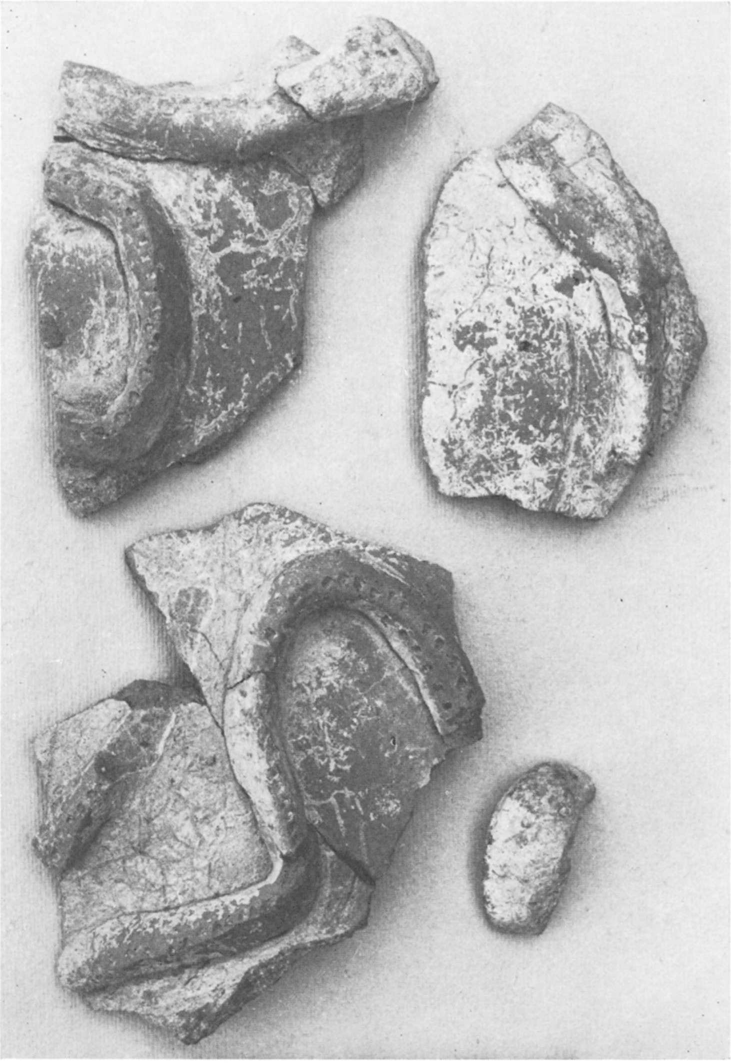

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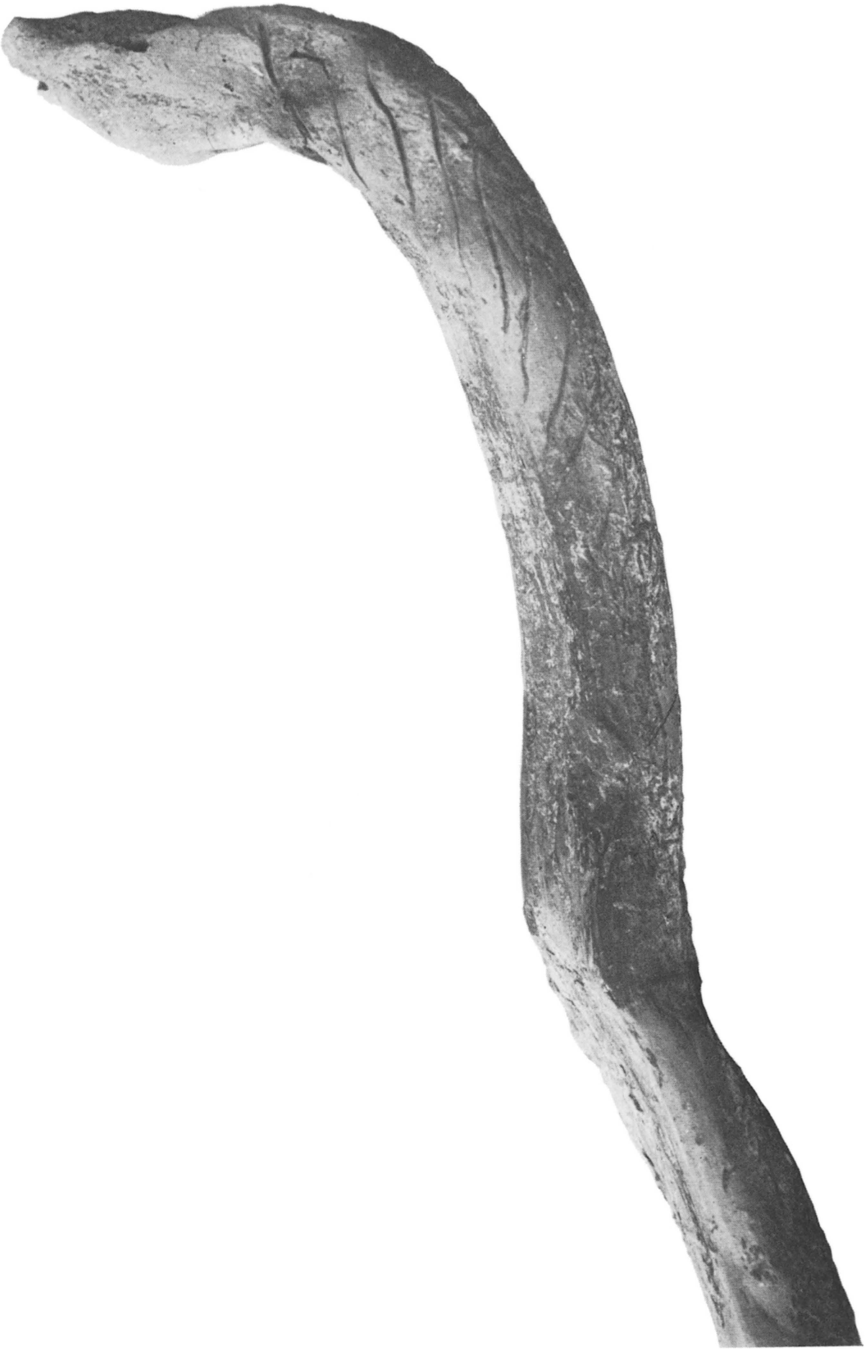

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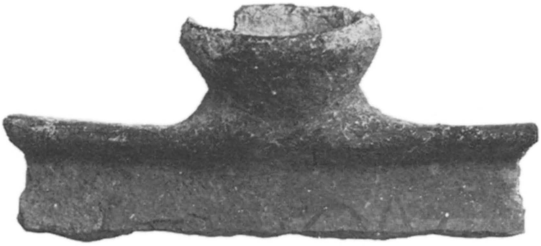

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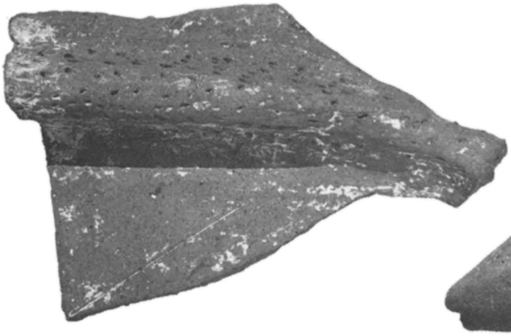

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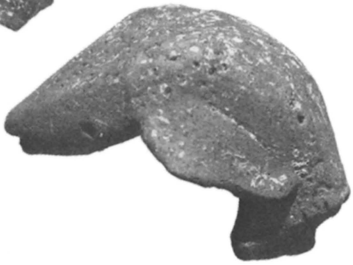

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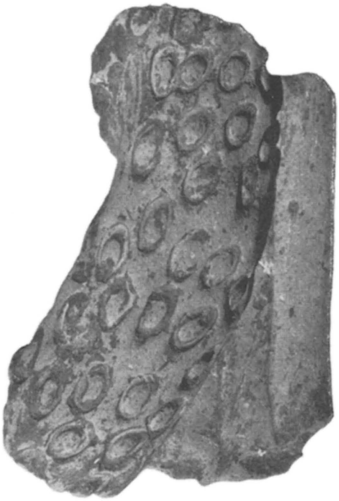

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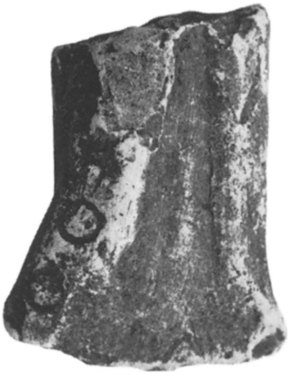

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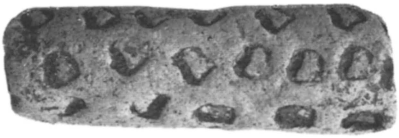

Fig. 56

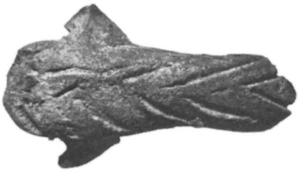

Fig. 57

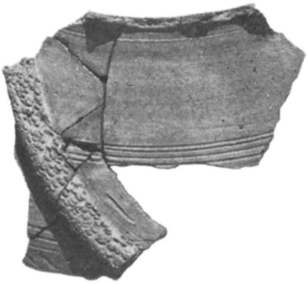

Fig. 58

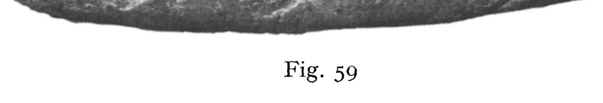

Fig. 59

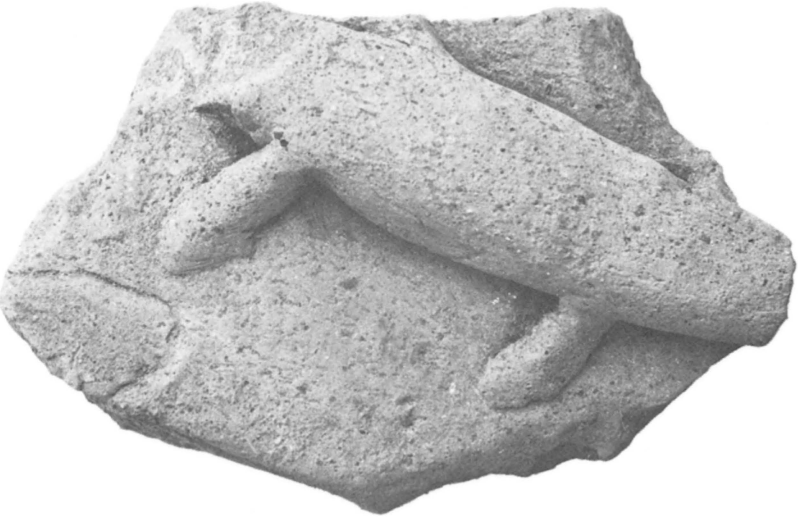

Fig. 60

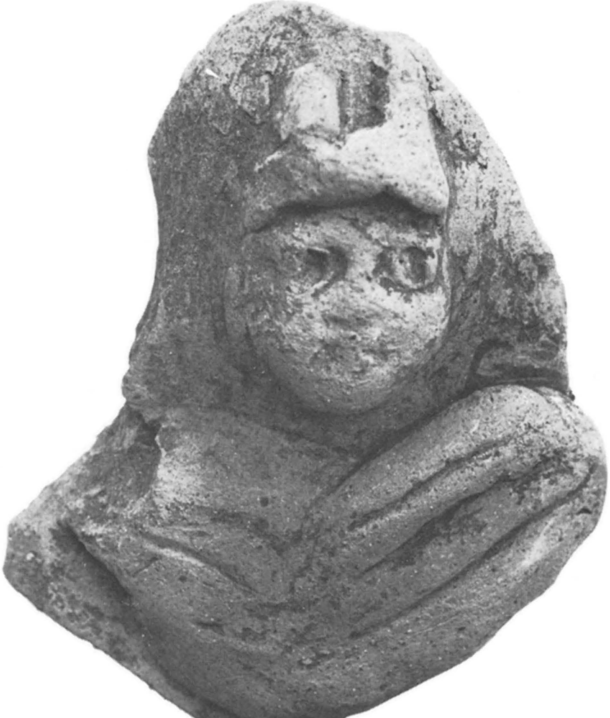

Fig. 61

Plate XXIV

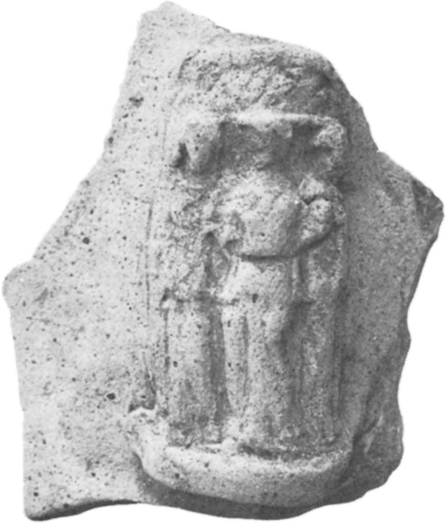

Fig. 62

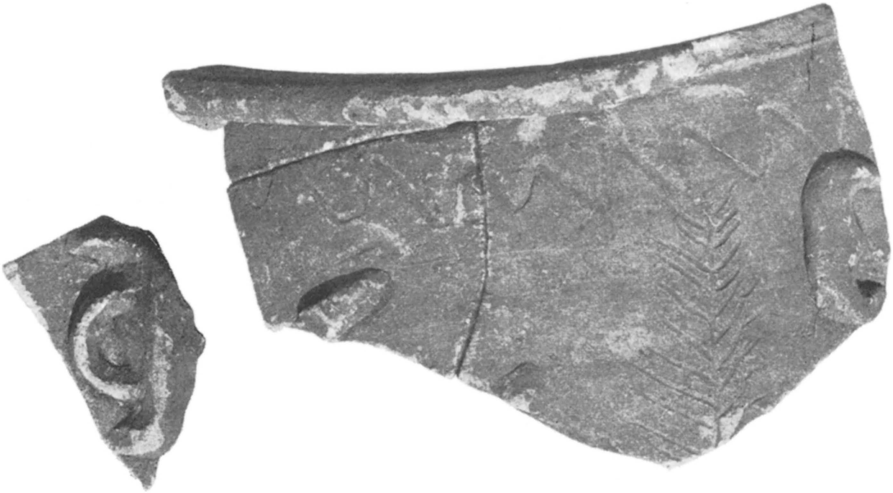

Fig. 63

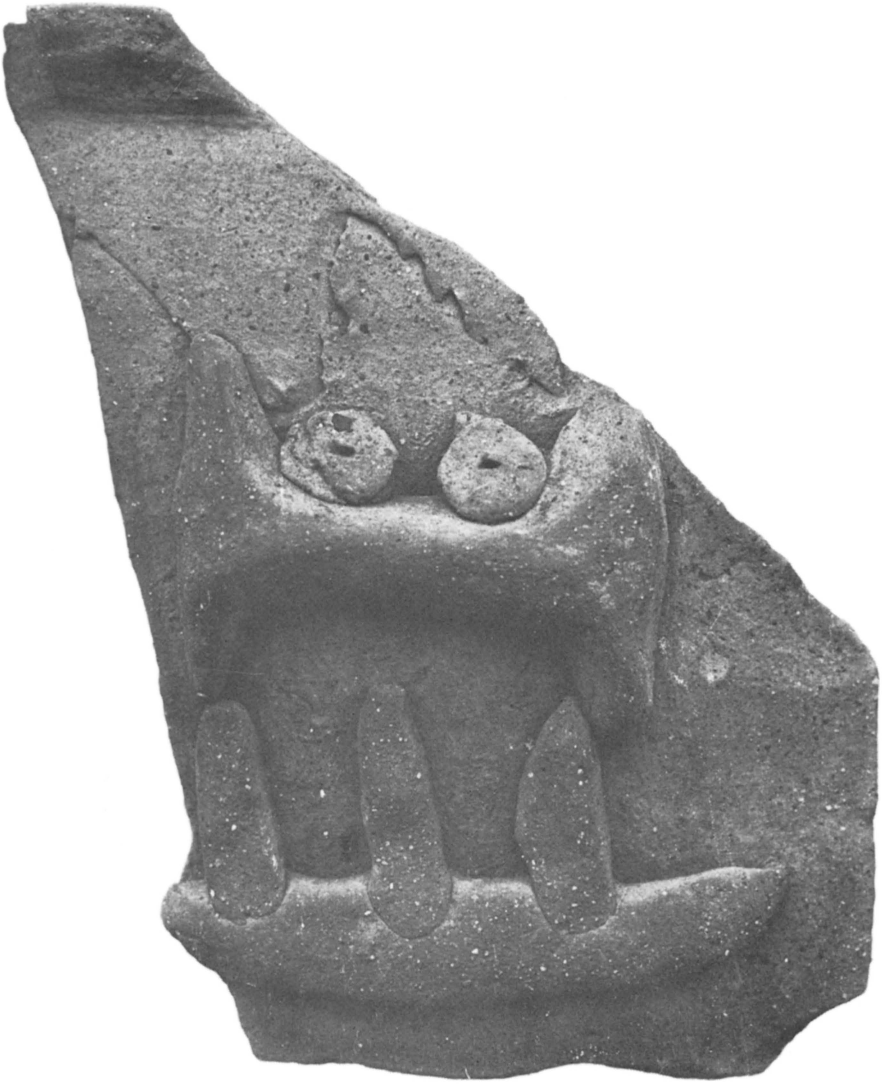

Fig. 64

Plate XXVI

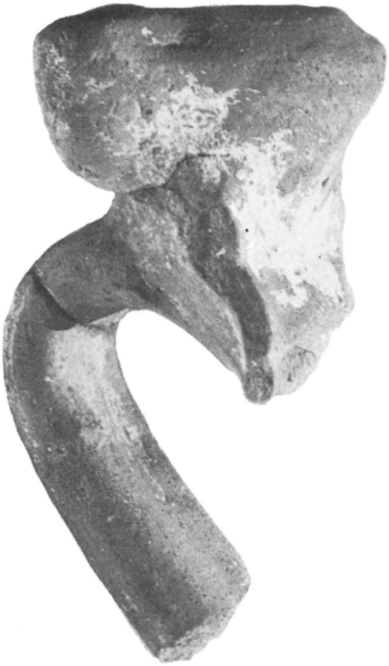

Fig. 65

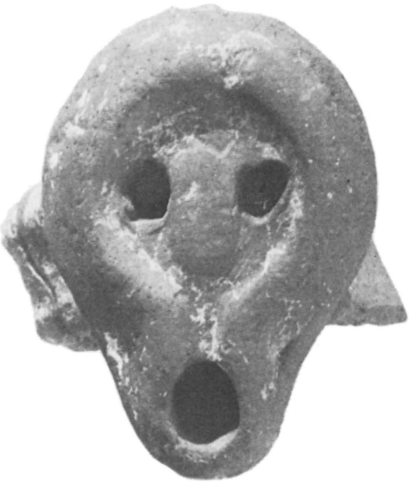

Fig. 66

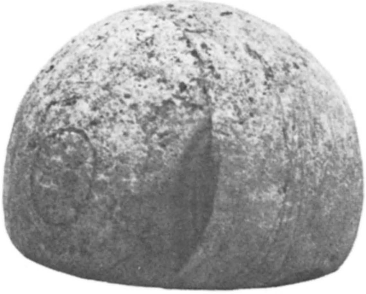

Fig. 67

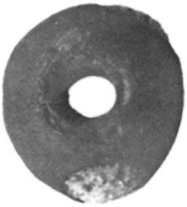

Fig. 68

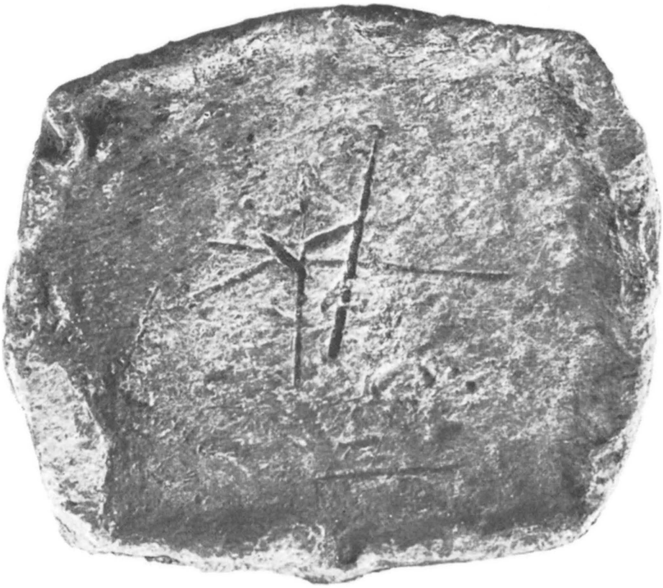

Fig. 69

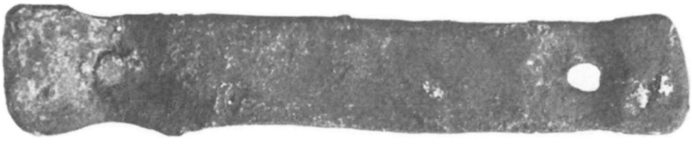

Fig. 70